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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE INDIVIDUAL OFFENDER
A STUDY BASED ON CASE HISTORIES OF ONE HUNDRED AND
TWENTY-NINE INMATES OF FORT SASKATCHEWAN GAOL

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
STANLEY RANDS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA,

May, 1937.

PREFACE

This investigation has been carried out as a project under the Robert Tegler Research Scholarship. The direction and supervision has come from the Department of Philosophy of the University of Alberta with the approval of the Committee on Graduate Studies. The work has been made possible only through the kindly cooperation of a large number of officials of the Provincial Government, the City Police Court, and the Ft. Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol. The Department of the Attorney-General granted permission to use such records as were necessary for the study, the Department of Public Works consented that the work might be carried on within the Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol, and Chief of Police Shute and Detective Inspector Sutherland gave us access to whatever records were available in their departments. Thanks are due to the officials in each of these departments, and particularly to Mr. Shaw of the City Police Identification Bureau, who did much to assist us in securing the necessary records. Especially would we express gratitude to the officials of Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol for their continual cooperation over a period of almost a year. Warden McLean made it possible for the investigator to live in the Gaol for a large part of the summer, and granted access to all of the gaol records that were useful in the study. He gave generously of his time for discussion of the problems being studied, and the information and guidance thus afforded have proven invaluable. Deputy Warden Hill spared no inconvenience to make possible all the interviews that were desired, and similar cooperation was received from Chief Guard Pollard and his second, Mr. Herbert Holt. The kindness and courtesy of Warden McLean, as well as his keen interest in the subject matter of the study, were reflected

in the treatment received from all of the members of his staff, and added greatly to the ease and effectiveness of the work in this investigation. Careful systematisation of the Gaol records makes information about the prisoners easily available, and the very smooth functioning of the daily routine throughout the whole institution makes it a pleasure to live and to work within its walls. The period of intimate association with the life of the gaol extending over several months and numerous visits before and since have given the writer a well-founded impression of a very efficiently administered public institution.

This study was begun in the second half of the month of May, 1932, and was continued throughout the summer. During the succeeding university term a number of visits were made to the gaol, and the early part of January was spent as a further period of residence in the institution.

A portion of the information used in the study is based on interviews made by Dr. H. E. Smith, Associate Professor of Psychology and Education of the University of Alberta. It was under his guidance that the project was planned and the methods outlined; and to his personal interest and assistance I owe a great deal. Gratitude is also due to Dr. C. A. Barager, Provincial Commissioner of Mental Health, and to Dr. J. M. McAllister, Superintendent of the Oliver Mental Hospital, for valuable suggestions and advice, and for time spent in securing psychiatric reports of a number of the cases studied.

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Introduction

Alberta is a very young province, but she already has a crime problem of large proportions. During the year ending September 30, 1931, criminal convictions to the number of 16,000 were made by the Alberta law courts. During that year 3508 men and women served sentences in the provincial gaols, 289 penitentiary terms were imposed upon Alberta people, and 589 juvenile delinquents were convicted before the juvenile courts of the province. A huge sum is spent by the Alberta people annually on the various public institutions necessitated by crime. Legal administration, police services, criminal courts, and penal institutions impose a much heavier financial burden upon our citizens than do all our facilities for formal education.

The most alarming fact in connection with the present magnitude and expense of our crime problem is the very rapid rate at which it is increasing. During the years 1926 to 1931 the total number of convictions for Alberta increased from 1579 to 2187 per 100,000 of the population, an absolute increase of 38.1% in the ratio of convictions to the total population. Between 1921 and 1931 the total number of convictions increased from 9834 to 16,000, an increase of 62.7%. During the same period the population of Alberta increased 24.3%, so that the number of convictions increased almost three times as rapidly as did the general population. The more serious offences, classed as indictable, increased 128.5%, an increase over five times as great as the corresponding increase in the total Alberta population. Such vastly disproportionate increases in crime rates necessarily involve increasingly heavy financial burdens upon each individual citizen. The present

unfavorable business and economic conditions call strongly for decreased expenditure in all fields of public administration; but at the same time we are experiencing an increase in crime which demands in turn a larger expenditure of public money.

This investigation has been planned and carried through in order to secure a better understanding of what is involved in our crime problem in Alberta. The efforts expended have been based on the belief that a more scientific approach to crime problems will lead us to a new methodology which will be both more effective and more economical than that now in use.

The approach which has been accepted as offering the greatest contribution toward a truer understanding of the fundamental principles governing crime and its successful treatment is the study of the individual who becomes an offender against the law, not as an isolated individual, but in terms of the whole social milieu in which he has lived and in which he must find his future place. Such an approach does not provide a shortcut or an easy way. It involves an attempt to combine a knowledge of the best that modern psychology has to offer toward an understanding of human nature with an appreciation of the practical difficulties encountered in seeking to administer any system in our complex social order. It requires an attitude that carefully balances the good of the individual and the welfare of society, seeing always as an ideal the synthesis of the two.

The method used is that of individual interviews, and the emphasis is on the attempt to understand the inner life of each of the men as he is affected by his environment and as he reacts to it. The information obtained from the men concerning

their own criminal histories was carefully checked by means of official records, in so far as the limited extent of criminal records in Alberta made this possible. In regard to certain other facts in connection with some of the cases objective verification of the reports given by the men was obtained from other sources. Apart from the record of their appearances in court and their incarcerations in various Canadian gaols and penitentiaries, the largest part of the information given by the men during the interviews was not objectively verified. It will be at once recognized that this fact places serious limitations upon the value and reliability of the material thus acquired. Case histories dependent largely upon the subjective report of the individual concerned, without adequate objective verification, must necessarily lack accuracy in detail and will indeed reflect throughout the mental viewpoint of the narrator. From the beginning of this investigation it has been clearly realized that the results would be of much greater dependability and value if it were not for this weakness in the method of securing information. But attention may well be drawn to the fact that for a study of this kind the subjective method of securing information about individual lives does not suffer nearly such great disadvantages as one might at first anticipate.

There are a number of considerations which offset the apparent disadvantages of the reliance upon subjective narration as a method of securing case histories. In the first place the men studied were all gaol prisoners serving sentences. They were receiving punishment for their past misbehaviour, and in the opinion of most of them had reached the lowest stage in social disapproval. Feeling that they had nothing left to fear they did not attempt to conceal the facts of their past lives,

but were rather prone to turn their attention to the past and to examine the series of events that had brought them finally to the gaol. The majority of prisoners are lonely. Only those of duller mentality appear to be immune from the urge for companionship when they have spent even a short time in confinement. The desire for companionship is really a desire to share experience. When prisoners are approached in a friendly way by one who seems to have no intent to harm, and are drawn into discussion of their personal feelings and reactions in a way that is not common in the world in which they ordinarily live, it is natural that they seek to share their past experiences. It pleases them to do so. The interest shown by the interviewer strikes a responsive chord in their often socially starved natures, and with men of the type constituting the majority of the group in Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol, the natural thing is to relate those past experiences in the way in which they seem to them to have happened. It is certainly the way in which experiences seem to them to have happened that they relate: and the way in which they see or interpret events may be, and usually is, quite different from the actual objective events. But for an understanding of the place that any experience plays in an individual life it is the interpretation given to that experience by the individual concerned which is the important thing. Hence in seeking to understand the careers of these prisoners in the light of their past environment and experience, it is their interpretation of that environment and that experience which offers the most valuable approach. As long as the investigator is continually aware that what he is receiving from his narrators is subjective interpretation and not historically accurate enum-

eration of details, the method of approach has very real value for an understanding of the influences and the motives which have made the individuals what they are.

In further regard to the reliability of the information obtained, it may be observed that the largest part of the material came either spontaneously or in response to questions which were not of such a nature as to present reasons for false replies. The prisoners see no reason for supposing that harm will befall them on account of what they relate in regard to their homes, their school life, or their early occupational experiences. Human beings, with the exception of very abnormal people, do not lie deliberately unless there is some reason for doing so. As far as the largest number of the questions used in this study are concerned, there was no obvious reason why the prisoners should seek to give untrue answers. Very significant in regard to this question of reliability is the fact that it was the group of questions about which prisoners would be most naturally expected to evade the truth, that objective evidence was available, namely in regard to the record of past court trials and sentences imposed. On this section of the subject matter respecting which we should expect to find the truth most difficult to obtain, there was a very high degree of correspondence in the cases of the majority of recidivists between the accounts given by the prisoners and the records furnished by the police courts and gaols. This furnishes a strong reason for accepting the life histories of the prisoners as, on the whole, reliable accounts of their experiences as interpreted by themselves subjectively.

There are some other phases of a prisoner's story about which it might be expected difficult to discover the truth. Instances are criminal records of the family, and bad habits of other members of the family or of the individual concerned. The figures summarizing statements of the men concerning these things must be considered to represent something less than the complete truth, yet they seem to the writer to constitute a larger proportion of the whole truth than might at first appear likely. Our report of the mental ability and the education of the men studied shows them to be on the whole of dull mentality and of limited general ability. Mental dullness is usually accompanied by dullness of feeling and of both moral and aesthetic sensibility. The act of revealing bad habits and family criminal records does not cause sensitiveness of feeling among the men of the gaol group in as great a measure as among men who have not had court or gaol experience. Even police records and gaol terms are almost a normal part of the life of a large number of the prisoners, and such men are much more casual in their references to court charges and gaol terms than would be expected by one who is not familiar with the world in which these men live. The same principle applies in regard to personal habits. Embarrassment when mentioning illicit sex experiences, for example, was obvious in only a few cases. These things are a part of their daily lives and their casual conversations. The degree of mental dullness and the low moral standards which were found among the majority of the men are such that they feel no reticence in speaking of things which are seldom mentioned openly in "respectable" circles. Hence, in spite of a more lax standard of veracity, these men

are not as likely to deliberately conceal supposedly unpleasant facts concerning their past experiences as is the average citizen who has a concern for his standing among fellow-citizens.

It must be born in mind in considering the reliability of the case histories that the present investigation was carried out in a provincial gaol, where the maximum sentence served is less than two years. This means that the men studied are not those who have committed the most serious offences, and are therefore less likely to be of the kind who, because carrying out a deliberate policy of crime, make statements only with guarded watchfulness and deliberate purpose. Because of the large number of petty offences for which terms are served in provincial gaols it is a reasonable expectation that the average intelligence level of the prisoners is lower there than in a penitentiary. The prisoners of duller mentality are less aware of any reasons that may exist for falsifying their stories.

Apart entirely from deliberate desire to conceal or pervert the truth, there is bound to be inaccuracy in some of the facts given by the men concerning their earlier lives, especially when many years have intervened. Wherever it was felt that the facts as given could not be relied upon for approximate accuracy they were omitted from consideration in the compilation of the tables and summaries. That part of the material which was used includes statements of the ages of leaving school, of entering employment, and of beginning certain habits. Particularly in the case of older men it is recognized that many of these ages and dates represent approximations rather than precisely accurate figures. It is felt, however, that in the material actually used

the errors are sufficiently few in number and small in proportion to the population interviewed to cancel each other according to the law of averages, so that the facts given in the summaries and conclusions centre closely about the truth.

A word is in order here on the value of such an investigation conducted in Alberta on a scale that is relatively small. There have been a number of studies made in recent years in both England and the United States in the same field as that with which this project has been concerned, and many of them have been considerably more extensive and more thorough. Many general principles hitherto unrecognized, concerning the causes and treatment of delinquency have come to be accepted by students of this subject in consequence of the facts revealed by the several scientific investigations. But there are a great many phases of the problems involved upon which no agreement has been reached, and the most advanced of the investigators have looked upon their work as merely an introduction to what may yet be done by way of understanding anti-social behaviour and of placing our treatment of it on a more scientific and effective basis. There have already been discovered many principles that can be safely accepted as of much greater soundness than many of our earlier ideas concerning crime and punishment, and if they were actually put into practice they would render our judiciary and our whole social organisation much more effective. But administration has lagged far behind scientific knowledge, in this field as in many others. There are obvious reasons: the general public is slow to accept new ideas, especially on matters which have been assumed to lie entirely within the sphere of untrained common sense; legislators

and administrative officials find it easier to continue doing things in the traditional way than to inaugurate changes, and, perhaps strongest of all reasons, the needed changes necessitate immediate expenditure of money, and it is very difficult for the tax-paying public or the economy-driven administrator to recognize that a more efficient method will be more economical on the whole and in the long run even though it does require larger expenditure at the moment. But it is urgent, nevertheless, that research should go forward, that the public should be gradually educated to new methods, and that well-founded facts be obtained upon which to base our thinking on the matters of practical social organization.

Among the general principles that study has revealed are many which can very well be taken into account in future social legislation in any country or on any continent, but the most difficult problems are those which concern the details that vary in every locality. Alberta has her own characteristic problems which cannot be answered by any amount of research in London or Chicago. It is essential to the future social welfare of the people of Alberta that careful scientific study of our social problems be carried forward just as rapidly as the supply of funds and of trained workers will permit. It is from objective field studies of the immediate local situation that the most useful and immediately practical knowledge will come, provided such detailed and close-range studies are seen in relation to studies made at other times and places, and interpreted in the light of the longer historical trends. The present investigation is fully recognized to be but a mere beginning in this direction.

It is hoped that it will prove valuable in indicating methods that may be used and results that may be achieved by further research in the field of Alberta's very real social problems.

The subject matter of this report necessarily includes some discussion of the present institutions by which this province seeks to deal with those who offend against its laws. That discussion inevitably involves some criticisms of these institutions, some indications of weaknesses, and some judgments of ineffectiveness. We wish it to be understood that these criticisms are directed toward the institutions and not toward the individuals who happen to be responsible for their administration. Where weakness and inefficiency exist, and they certainly do exist, the blame lies with every citizen of the province who does not interest himself in knowing the facts involved and in attempting to improve the means by which our society deals with those of its members who fail to live within it harmoniously.

The aim of this report is to set forth such facts as the investigation has brought to light, together with a discussion of the bearing of these facts upon Alberta's policies of dealing with offenders and upon her social problems in general. Chapter I presents an analysis of the sample group of prisoners in Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol whose life histories were studied, without seeking to relate the various factors of life and background to the delinquency of the individuals concerned. Chapter II is a collection of some half dozen life stories presented for the purpose of depicting a number of the factors most common in the

lives of these men in their actual setting as parts of continual life processes. Chapter III attempts to analyze some of the factors contributing to the delinquency of the men studied, and to indicate certain relationships between the various factors. Chapter IV discusses the present method of treatment and its effect upon the offender. Chapter V presents a discussion of such changes in the treatment of anti-social conduct as seem on the basis of this study to be desirable in Alberta. Chapter VI discusses the relationship of the problems touched upon in this study to the larger issues of our whole social organization, and the bearing of public opinion and public attitudes upon our general social problems and our progressive treatment of them.

CHAPTER I

AN ANALYSIS OF THE GAOL POPULATION

The analyses of the gaol population presented in this chapter are based largely upon the data collected in the interviews with one hundred and twenty-nine prisoners during their terms in the Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol. The conclusions are subject to the qualifications set forth in the preceding pages concerning the methods of securing the data and the limited means of verifying the data so secured. It is believed, however, that the summaries presented in this chapter give a fairly accurate picture of the personality types and the background of the general population of the Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol.

It will be noted that the information as set forth in tabular form does not, in all cases, include data for the total number of men studied. There are two main reasons for this limitation. The method chosen for the interviews was that of informal and natural conversation rather than that of a routine gathering of answers to a stereotyped list of questions. The field covered was more or less uniform in most of the cases, but the method of procedure was in each case adjusted to the individual being interviewed, in the belief that such a manner of procedure was likely to yield more accurate information as well^{as} a greater understanding of the individual life. Furthermore the system used limited the time of the interviews in the majority of cases to one half day, and when occasionally points of especial interest took a good deal of the time, other phases of the life story were necessarily dealt with in less detail. The result was that while the questions considered of major

interest were answered in all cases, there were a large number of less significant questions to which answers were given by fewer than the total number interviewed. The second reason for the incomplete number of answers is that in cases where the statements made seemed of doubtful accuracy they were discarded for purposes of tabular summaries.

The material presented in this chapter concerns the general factors in the personal lives and environments of the men. The relation of these factors to the crime experiences of the various individuals is considered in Chapter III.

Home Environment

The first and most important factor in the individual life is the home. This section, therefore, presents the information collected concerning the home background of the men in the group studied. In addition there is used in connection with some points information drawn from the gaol records of the men imprisoned there during the twelve months ending March 31, 1932. Comparisons are made also between the group studied and the general population of Alberta in cases where the corresponding figures for the general population were available.

Information Concerning Birthplace.- Data concerning the birthplaces of the men studied, together with that concerning the birthplaces of the parents in the case of those born in Canada, are summarized in the following table. Where one parent was born outside of Canada the parentage is here classified as non-Canadian. Only 126 of the 129 cases studied are listed

here as there was uncertainty with regard to the birthplaces of the parents in the remaining three cases.

TABLE I

BIRTHPLACES OF ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIX PRISONERS
AND THEIR PARENTS

	Frequency	Per Cent
Canadian-born of Canadian (non French) parents	23	18.3
Canadian-born with at least one Fr.Can. parent	11	8.7
Canadian-born of British parents	11	8.7
Canadian or American born of European parents	21	16.7
Canadian-born of American parents	6	4.8
British-born	27	21.4
European-born	16	12.7
American-born	11	8.7

Combining birthplace and parentage we have the following distribution:

TABLE II

BIRTHPLACE AND PARENTAGE OF ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIX
PRISONERS

Birthplace and Parentage	Frequency	Per Cent
Canadian by birthplace and parentage	34	27.0
European by birthplace or parentage	37	29.4
American by birthplace or parentage	17	13.5
British by birthplace or parentage	38	30.1
Total	126	100.0

Of this group of prisoners slightly more than one fourth are Canadian born of Canadian born parents. Exactly half as large as the wholly Canadian group is the group born in America or of American parents. The largest group consists of the men whose birthplace, or whose parents' birthplace, was in the British

Isles, and only slightly smaller is the group who are European by birthplace or parentage.

Of more direct value is a comparison of the birthplace distribution of the gaol population with that of the general population of Alberta. The following table places in parallel columns the birthplace distribution of three groups: the 126 men of the sample group studied, the 1188 men who were admitted as prisoners to the Gaol during the year ending March 31, 1932, and the general population of Alberta as given by the 1921 Dominion census. It is assumed that the percentage distribution of the general population has not changed greatly since 1921.

TABLE III

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF BIRTHPLACES OF THE SAMPLE POPULATION, OF THE ENTIRE GAOL POPULATION FOR ONE YEAR, AND OF THE GENERAL POPULATION OF ALBERTA.

Percentage occurring in each group			
Place of Birth	Group of 126 Studied	Total Gaol Population For One Year	General Population of Alberta
Canada	57.2	41.5	53.6
British Isles	21.4	13.9	16.6
United States	8.7	8.7	17.0
Europe	12.7	35.0	11.9
Other Places	0.0	0.9	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Size of Group	126	1188	588,454

The comparison of the birthplace distribution of the gaol population with that of the general population yields valuable information. Support is given to the conclusion often drawn from casual observation of court proceedings that immigrants from Europe contribute more than their proportionate share to the gaol population of Alberta. Only 15.5% of the total population of Alberta, according to the 1931 census, were born in Continental Europe. Yet this small portion of the total population contributed **thirty-five** per cent to the gaol population. The group making the second largest contribution to the gaol population in proportion to its share in the general population is the group born in the British Isles. Next comes the group born in the United States, and lowest in proportionate contribution to the population of the gaol is the Canadian-born group.

The extent to which European immigration contributes to the population of the gaol is only partially expressed by the figures of the above table. Of the Canadian-born group a large number have been raised in foreign settlements in this country, or in homes in which a European language, and, to some extent, European customs have persisted. The percentage of ^{gaol} such cases in the entire population is not known, but approximate figures have been compiled for the sample group of 126 men. Of the eighty-three men of the sample group who were born in Canada or in the United States, twenty-one, or more than one fourth, were of families of which at least one parent was European in

origin. There is reason to believe that in the total gaol group the proportion among the Canadian or American born whose parents were European is greater than in the sample group, for the reason that in selecting cases for study, those prisoners whose command of English was reported by the gaol officials to be very limited were excluded on account of the presumed difficulty of conversation. Even assuming the ratio to be the same in the total population as in the sample, we would have 149 of the men born in Canada and the United States who could be expected to have had European parents. This number constitutes 12.5% of the total population of the gaol. Adding to this figure the 35.0% actually born in Europe, we have 47.5% of the gaol population coming from European homes.

French-Canadian Parentage.- There is another group besides that of European origin in which the home has failed to provide unity of language and cultural influence. Eleven of the men studied, or 8.7%, were found to be from homes in which at least one of the parents was of French-Canadian stock. In only five of these cases were both parents of the same nationality, so that in over half of the families represented there was a dual tradition of nationality and language. In all of these eleven cases the individual had lived in a world that used both the English and the French language, and that combined two cultural traditions.

Bilingualism in the Home.- Thirty-three of the group studied, or 25.6%, came from homes in which a language other than English was commonly used during their childhood. In most cases this meant that the boy was forming his

social contacts in a community in which two languages were used, and was getting his education in a language other than that spoken in his home. In many of the homes the parents had very little if any command of the English language, so that the broader social life of the child often came to represent a world quite different from that represented by his home.

Education of Parents.- Information given by the men formed the basis for estimates of the general level of the education of the parents in eighty-nine cases.

TABLE IV

AMOUNT OF EDUCATION RECEIVED BY THE PARENTS OF 89 PRISONERS

Amount of Education	Frequency	Percentage
Very Little	35	39.3
Fair Amount	40	45.0
Good Amount	14	15.7
Total	89	100.0

The parents who are here classed as having had very little education had in most instances left school at an early age. Some had not attended school at all. Those rated as having had a fair amount of education had for the most part left school from the upper intermediate grades, or were judged to have the equivalent of from five to seven years of schooling. Those credited with a good amount of education were those who had completed at least the eight grades of public school. Very few of the men reported that their parents ^{had} any education beyond high school.

Location of Home.- In one hundred cases the men were definitely classified as having lived during their childhood in cities, in towns, or on farms.

TABLE V

LOCATION OF THE HOMES OF PRISONERS IN CITY, TOWN, OR COUNTRY

Location of Home	Frequency	Percentage
City	39	39.0
Town	14	14.0
Farm	47	47.0
Total	100	100.0

The hundred men classified above had spent all of their childhood, or the major portion of it, in homes located as shown. The others of the group studied could not be so classified. Some had moved from a farm to the city, others had moved from city to farm, and still others had lived sometimes in a town and sometimes in a city.

The table following presents a comparison of the urban-rural distribution of the homes of the gaol group with that of the general Alberta population. Those of the gaol group whose homes were in towns or cities are grouped under Urban, and for the general population the classification of the Dominion Census of 1931 is used, including under urban those living in towns, cities or incorporated villages.

TABLE VI

URBAN-RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE GAOL GROUP AND OF THE GENERAL
POPULATION OF CANADA

Location of Home	Per Cent Urban	Per Cent Rural
Gaol Population Sample of 100 men	53.0	47.0
Total Population of Alberta According to 1931 Census	38.1	61.9

The above comparison shows that the urban population contributes considerably more than its proportionate share to the population of the gaol. Although constituting only 38.1% of the total population of the province, urban centres furnished the home environment of 53% of the gaol group studied.

Occupation of Parents.- The occupations as classified below are largely those of the fathers. In a very few cases the wage-earner had been the mother. Only 123 of the 129 cases studied are tabulated according to the occupation of the parent. In most of the other cases the subject did not know his father because of the early removal of the latter from the home by death or separation, or because of the early departure of the subject from the home.

TABLE VII

OCCUPATION OF THE WAGE-EARNING PARENT AS REPORTED BY PRISONERS

Occupation of Parent	Frequency	Percentage
Farmer	45	36.6
Skilled Laborer	33	26.8
Semi-skilled Laborer	20	16.3
Unskilled Laborer	14	11.4
Business Man	8	6.5
Professional Man	3	2.4
Total	123	100.0

The above classification is based on the definitions of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled furnished by Professor John M. Brewer, Director of Vocational Guidance of the Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, and quoted by Glueck and Glueck in "Five Hundred Criminal Careers". (Page 114, footnote.) The unskilled laborer does work which requires no training at all; the semi-skilled laborer uses tools and processes which require a short period of learning, probably three days to three months; and the skilled laborer does work which requires a year or more of training for the acquisition of the necessary skill.

Church Attendance.- The statements of the men as to the church attendance of their parents are summarized in the following table.

TABLE VIII

CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF PARENTS OF FT. SASKATCHEWAN GAOL INMATES

Regularity of Attendance	Father		Mother	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Regular	44	44.5	60	68.2
Occasional	35	35.3	17	19.3
None	20	20.2	11	12.5

The percentage of regular church attendance is seen to be much greater for the mothers than for the fathers. Averaging the figures for the two groups we find that 55.6% of the total group are regular attenders at church. An additional 27.8% belong to the group of occasional attenders. Of this group the proportion of men is nearly twice as great as that of women (35.3% men and 19.3% women). The group who do not attend church at all constitutes 16.6% of the whole group of parents. Of these again the percentage of men is much greater than that of women.

Religion of Parents.- The religious faiths of the parents, with the percentage distribution for fathers and mothers separately and as a total group, are given below. The heading "Greek" includes both Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic.

TABLE IX

RELIGIOUS FAITHS OF FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF GAOL INMATES

Religious Faith	Fathers		Mothers		Total	
	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent	Frequency	Per Cent
Protestant	61	58.6	54	56.8	115	57.7
Roman Catholic	35	33.7	31	32.6	66	33.2
Greek	7	6.7	9	9.5	16	8.1
None	1	1.0	1	1.1	2	1.0

The percentage of those claiming the respective faiths is almost the same for the mothers as for the fathers. There were very few cases in which the religion reported for the father was different from that reported for the mother, except among the various Protestant denominations, in which "mixed" marriages are, of course, common. In at least one of the homes concerned, a marriage between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic led to the dropping of religion so completely that the children were not introduced to the church in any way.

The following table presents in parallel columns, as percentages, the religious affiliations of the parents of the men in the group studied, those of the entire gaol population during one year, and those of the general population of Alberta.

TABLE X

DISTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS FAITHS AMONG THE SAMPLE GROUP OF PRISONERS STUDIED, THE TOTAL GAOL POPULATION FOR ONE YEAR, AND THE GENERAL POPULATION OF ALBERTA

	Parents of Sample Group		Gaol Group For 1 Year		General Population of Alberta	
	Freq- uency	Per Cent	Freq- uency	Per Cent	Freq- uency	Per Cent
Protestant	115	57.7	546	46.0	527,415	72.2
R. Catholic	66	33.2	377	31.7	130,893	17.9
Greek	16	8.0	234	19.7	63,920	8.7
Jewish	0	0.0	2	0.2	3,663	0.5
Other Non-Christian	0	0.0	0	0.0	2,557	0.3
None	2	1.0	29	2.4	2,132	0.3
Not Given	0	0.0	0	0.0	1,025	0.1
Total	199	100.0	1188	100.0	731,605	100.0

It will be noted that it is the religion of the parents which is given for the sample group studied, and that the total of 199 is the number of parents for which this information was given. The religions listed for the larger gaol population are those which were given as their own religions by the total number of prisoners entering the gaol during the year ending March 31, 1932. The distribution of religions for the general population is compiled from figures given in the Canada Year Book for 1932, based on the 1931 census.

The table makes it clear that the number of Roman Catholics and those of the Greek Orthodox and Catholic faiths is much larger among the gaol population than their representation in the total population would justify. In connection

with this fact should be considered those facts previously presented as to the nationalities of the gaol population. It was seen that the group most heavily represented among the prisoners in proportion to its percentage of the total Alberta population was that group originating in Central Europe. It seems to be true that in the majority of the countries from which these immigrants come the percentage of Protestants is less than it is in the countries whose populations are less adequately represented in the gaol. It is possible that this weighting of the nationalities may be a factor sufficient to account for the smaller proportion of Protestants among the prisoners than among the general population.

It will be noted that Table X shows a larger percentage of Protestants and a smaller percentage of those of the Greek faiths among the sample group than among the gaol group as represented in total for one year. This disparity is obviously due to the weighting of the sample to include a larger proportion of those of English stock than of those originating in Continental Europe. The purpose of the weighting as indicated at the beginning of this chapter was to avoid the language difficulty involved in obtaining case histories from those of immigrant stock whose command of English was not good. One of the results seems to have been to include in the group studied a larger proportion of Protestants than is found in the gaol population as a whole.

Habits of Father.- The information obtained concerning the use of liquor and of tobacco by the fathers of the men is summarized in the following tables.

TABLE XI

USE OF ALCOHOL BY THE FATHERS OF THE GAOL INMATES

Degree of Use of Alcohol	Frequency	Percentage
Heavy User	12	12.1
Moderate	54	54.5
Total Abstainer	33	33.4
Total	99	100.0

TABLE XII

USE OF TOBACCO BY THE FATHERS OF THE GAOL INMATES

User or Non-User	Frequency	Percentage
Tobacco-User	68	79.1
Non-User	18	20.9
Total	86	100.0

It appears that the fathers of two-thirds of our group were addicted to the use of liquor either moderately or in excess, and that the fathers of almost four-fifths of these men were users of tobacco. No figures are available for comparison with the general Alberta population, but it seems that the prisoners studied have come from homes in which the proportion of fathers using liquor and tobacco is relatively high. In chapter III tables are presented showing the relationship existing between the habits of the parents and those of the prisoners.

Number of Children in the Home.- The number of children in the home during the childhood of any individual is obviously

a factor of considerable weight in determining the home conditions and relationships. Below is the distribution of the number of children in the fraternity of each of the 127 men of our group for whom the facts were known.

TABLE XIII

NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN THE HOME DURING THE CHILDHOOD OF ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY SEVEN GAOL INMATES

Number of Children In Fraternity	Frequency	Per Cent	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
1	3	2.4	3	2.4
2	13	10.2	16	12.6
3	18	14.2	34	26.8
4	17	13.3	51	40.1
5	18	14.2	69	54.3
6	18	14.2	87	68.5
7	12	9.4	99	77.9
8	11	8.7	110	86.6
9	1	0.8	111	87.4
10	6	4.7	117	92.1
11	3	2.4	120	94.5
12	5	3.9	125	98.4
13	0	0.0	125	98.4
14	0	0.0	125	98.4
15	0	0.0	125	98.4
16	1	0.8	126	99.2
17	0	0.0	126	99.2
18	0	0.0	126	99.2
19	1	0.8	127	100.0
Total	127	100.0	127	100.0

The average number of children in these homes, as represented by the arithmetic mean of the above distribution, is 4.9. The median family, or that ranking mid-way between the greatest and the least, has four children. Families with three, four, five or six children occur with almost equal frequency. The distribution shows a decided preponderance of relatively large families. 45.7% of the men are from homes

containing more than five children, and 12.6% are from homes with ten or more children. Only three men out of 127, or 2.4% were "only children" in their homes.

Position in Fraternity.- Closely related to the size of the family is the position of the individual member being studied. Of our group of 129 men, 21 were the eldest in their families and 12 were the youngest. Of those who were not the eldest members of families and who lived in fraternities containing six or more children, 17 had four or more younger brothers and sisters.

Completeness of Family.- Basic to the normal condition of a home is the presence of both parents. The extent to which the homes of our gaol group were broken in various ways is shown in the following table.

TABLE XIV

COMPLETENESS OF THE HOMES OF THE SAMPLE GAOL GROUP STUDIED

Condition of the Home	Frequency	Percentage
Both parents in the home	67	52.0
One parent absent by death	38	29.5
Both parents absent by death	2	1.6
One parent absent by separation	9	7.0
Home of child with step-parent	8	6.2
Home of child with foster-parents	5	3.9
Home of child with relatives	2	1.6

In 49 cases, or 38.0% of the total, the men came from homes which had been deprived of one parent by separation, or of one or both parents by death. These figures are minimal, and the

percentage coming from broken homes is very probably larger than here indicated, because although information on this point was not obtained in all cases, the total number of 129 was used as the base in calculating the percentages.

Criminal Records of Immediate Family.- The number of prisoners who reported that their fathers had been criminally convicted before the courts was 7 out of the 129, or 5.4%. There were also 18, or 14.0%, who reported that one or more of their brothers had been convicted by the courts. These figures may be expected to represent something less than the truth, as the criminality of relatives is one matter regarding which some of the men would wish to have the least possible known. But even accepting these figures as they are, they represent an index of criminality much higher than that of the general population. A consideration of the fathers alone gives the following facts: The number of males in Alberta by the 1931 census was 400,199. According to the figures for Canada based on the 1921 census, one third of these are below 15 years of age and therefore not old enough to be fathers. The number of convictions of males before the Alberta courts in 1931 was 2583. The number of criminals is considerably less than the number of convictions because many of the men were convicted on more than one charge, yet accepting this figure as representing the number of male criminals in Alberta we find the group constituting only 0.9% of the total adult males of the province. In comparison with this figure the 5.4% of our cases in which the fathers had been criminally convicted is very large indeed.

Family Relationships.-- The ninety men of the group who expressed their feeling as to the happiness of the relationships within their home did so as follows:

TABLE XV

HAPPINESS OF THE FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS IN THE HOMES OF NINETY
GAOL INMATES

Relationships in the Home	Frequency	Percentage
Happy Home	61	67.8
Indifferent	16	17.7
Decidedly Unhappy	13	14.4
Total	90	100.0

The kind of relationship existing in the homes from which these men have come is probably even less favorable than the above percentages indicate. Many of the men whose reaction was accepted as indicating happiness in their home life were quite obviously referring to an absence of friction or openly hostile attitudes among the members of the family, rather than to any positive relationship exceeding that of mere cordiality. The men who spoke of their home as if it had been a life centre of such really vital happiness as to provide them with genuine inspiration were very few. Apathetic indifference was rather the general rule, as if the home had been taken for granted as a place to eat and sleep and little more. Two or three spoke with warm appreciation of the companionship they had had with their parents. Apart from these few instances the only men who had not taken complacently for granted the relationships within their homes were those who were openly antagonistic to other

members of the family. There were six men who felt quite hostile to their fathers, and three who had lived in continual fear of them. Many of the group spoke of strenuous quarrelling with brothers and sisters. Almost all expressed a favorable attitude toward their mothers.

Age of Leaving Home.- Fourteen of the men were still living at home at the time of the present conviction. There were others who still lived at home intermittently, and still others who had broken their contact with the home gradually over a period of time by increasing periods of absence. Those who had left home at a definite and known time number eighty-nine.

TABLE XVI

AGES AT WHICH EIGHTY-NINE GAOL INMATES LEFT THEIR HOMES

Age of Home Leaving In Years	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
10	3	3.4	3	3.4
11	1	1.1	4	4.5
12	3	3.4	7	7.9
13	2	2.3	9	10.2
14	10	11.2	19	21.4
15	5	5.6	24	27.0
16	5	5.6	29	32.6
17	8	9.0	37	41.6
18	20	22.5	57	64.1
19	5	5.6	62	62.7
20	8	9.0	70	78.7
21	4	4.5	74	83.2
22	5	5.6	79	88.8
23	2	2.3	81	91.1
24	1	1.1	83	92.2
25	1	1.1	83	93.3
Above 25	6	6.7	89	100.0

The range of ages of leaving home is wide, the minimum

being ten years and the maximum thirty-four. The average age of leaving as expressed by the arithmetic mean of the distribution is 17 years 10 months. The median age of leaving, or that of the man for whom that age ranked mid-way between the earliest and the latest, is 18 years 10 months. The modal or most frequently occurring age is 18 years. Some of the more significant facts presented in the table are: 21.4% of the men had left home before they were past the age of 14 years, 41.6% had left before they were past 17, and 64.1% before they were past 18. On the other hand, of the group who left home at some time previous to the present conviction, 58.4% were still in the home when they reached the age of 18, and 21.3% were still there when they reached the age of 21.

Reason for Leaving Home.- The reasons for which the men left home are listed below in order of the frequency of occurrence. The percentages are given in terms of the group of one hundred men for which this information was obtained.

TABLE XVII

REASONS FOR LEAVING HOME AS GIVEN BY ONE HUNDRED PRISONERS

Reason for Leaving Home	Frequency	Percentage
Desire to Work	39	39
Desire to Travel	14	14
Necessity of Work	12	12
Disintegration of Home	11	11
Quarrel or Escape from Unpleasant Conditions (including runaway)	10	10
Unemployment & Poverty in Family	3	3
To Establish Own Home in Marriage	2	2
To be Independent Without Marriage	2	2
To Secure Further Education	2	2
Sentenced to Gaol	2	2
Sentenced to Reformatory	1	1
Sent from Home on Suspended Sentence	1	1
To go to War.	1	1

The largest single group under this classification is that of the men who left home when they reached a certain age in order that they might find work for themselves because it seemed the natural thing to do. This group is not distinctly demarcated from the group who left home because of the necessity of work, for the desire and the necessity often occurred simultaneously, but the men classed under "Necessity of Work" are those who left home earlier than they would otherwise have done, due to the economic necessity of wage-earning. Those described in the table as desiring to travel often went forth intending to work, but are thus classified because the dominant motive in leaving home when they did seemed to be the desire for a change from the home environment.

In a number of cases the age of home leaving was distinctly related to the conditions in the home. Placing together the groups leaving because of home break-up, because

of unemployment and poverty in the family, and in order to escape from undesirable home conditions, we have 24 men who left home definitely because of the failure of the home. We may add also to this group the one boy who was sent away from home on suspended sentence, assuming that this action would not have been taken had the home conditions been satisfactory in the eyes of the court. Thus we have a group constituting 25% of the total number of men here considered for whom the determining factor in the age of home leaving was the unfortunate situation in the home, economical or otherwise.

The reasons for home leaving at a specific time may be grouped according to the motivating force as follows:

TABLE XVIII

MOTIVES OF ONE HUNDRED GAOL INMATES FOR LEAVING HOME

Motive For Leaving Home	Frequency	Percentage
Personal Volition	59	59
Unfortunate Home Conditions	21	21
Economic Necessity	15	15
On Sentence of the Courts	4	4
Demand of the War	1	1

It is impossible, of course, to speak of the motives behind human actions in terms other than those of general approximations. The above classifications are the result of a careful attempt to draw from the statements of the men the reason which in general prompted their action. In each individual case the conclusion was based on a personal knowledge of the men derived from one or more long conversations. The decisions classed under personal volition were by no means

free from the influence of strong external factors such as that of economic pressure.

Relations With Home Since Leaving.- Only 31 of the men or 24.0% of the whole group, reported intimate and frequent relationships with the home since leaving, by either personal contact or correspondence. At least 14 of them, or 10.7% of the total, had had no relations whatever with their homes since leaving. In interpreting these figures it must be kept in mind that not all of the men had homes after leaving, and also that the use of 129 as the base in calculating the percentages makes them somewhat too low, as information on this point was not obtained in all cases. However it seems certain that a relatively small percentage of the men who had homes really maintained a relationship with them after leaving. This bears out the conclusion previously reached on the basis of Table XV that in only a small percentage of the cases studied were the original home relationships vital and happy, and adds weight to the impression that the home lives of the majority of the men studied were not highly favorable.

Mobility of Family.- A final factor in the home influence and environment is that of the degree of permanence or mobility in the location of the home. Some of the facts furnished by the men of our group concerning this factor in their home lives is here tabulated.

TABLE XIX

PERMANENCE OR MOBILITY OF THE HOMES OF THE GAOL INMATES

Permanence or Mobility	Frequency	Percentage of the Whole Group of 129 men
Relative Permanence	31	24.0
One or More Moves Between Countries	29	22.4
Frequent Moves Within a Country	16	12.4
Total	76	58.8

It is seen that a large number of our prisoners have come from homes which experienced frequent change of physical environment. These percentages again should be larger than they appear here, because the total population is taken as the base, although information on this matter was not obtained from the entire group. At least 22.4% of the men had experienced change of country during their childhood, and in a large percentage of these cases the move was from the Old World to the New, bringing of course very radical changes of social environment, custom, tradition, and institutions, as well as of language and thought forms. Among the 12.4% of cases in which the moves were within one country, many of the families were prone to move very frequently, with the result that the school life of the children was disrupted and the family at no time came to feel itself a part of any community in a permanent sense.

Nationality

The nationalities of the prisoners can best be summarized by a tabulation of the countries of birth. For this purpose we are using the enumeration of birthplaces given by the 1188 men entering the gaol during the year ending March 31, 1932. Table XX gives the number of men born in each country represented, and also the percentage distribution of the nationalities among this total gaol group of 1188 and among the general population of Alberta as given in the 1931 census.

TABLE XX

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTRIES OF BIRTH AMONG THE MEN ENTERING THE
GAOL DURING THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1932, AND AMONG
THE GENERAL ALBERTA POPULATION IN 1931

Country of Birth	Frequency of Occurrence among the 1188 Prisoners	Percentage of the 1188 Prisoners	Percentage of the General Population of Alberta
Canada	493	41.5	58.2
British Isles	165	16.9	14.6
Austria	121	10.2	0.6
United States	104	8.8	10.8
Poland	97	8.2	4.3
Ukraine	31	2.6	0.2
Norway	30	2.5	1.2
Russia	26	2.2	2.1
Germany	23	1.9	1.1
Roumania	20	1.7	1.1
Sweden	15	1.3	1.0
Jugo Slavia	9	0.8	0.2
Czechoslovakia	9	0.8	0.1
Denmark	7	0.6	0.1
Finland	7	0.6	0.2
France	5	0.4	0.2
Italy	4	0.3	0.3
Switzerland	4	0.3	0.2
India	4	0.3	0.1
Belgium	3	0.3	0.2
Holland	2	0.2	0.3
China	2	0.2	0.5
South America	2	0.2	
Lithuania	2	0.2	0.1
Newfoundland	1	0.1	0.1
Africa	1	0.1	0.1
Hungary	1	0.1	0.6

Table XXI presents a summary of the data concerning the birthplaces of the prisoners and of the general population in relation to the chief geographical areas which are the source of Alberta's population.

DISTRIBUTION OF BIRTHPLACES OF GAOL GROUP AND GENERAL ALBERTA
POPULATION ACCORDING TO CHIEF GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS

Place of Birth	Percentage of 1188 Prisoners	Percentage of Total Alberta Population 1931
Canada	41.5	58.2
Europe	35.0	15.5
British Isles	13.9	14.6
United States	8.8	10.8
Other regions	0.8	0.9
Total	100.0	100.0

The percentage of Canadian-born in the gaol group is considerably less than the corresponding percentage of the general population. The British Isles contribute slightly less, proportionately, to the gaol population than to the general population. The same is true of that portion of the population born in the United States. The situation with regard to Europeans is in marked contrast to that concerning those born in the British Isles, the United States, and Canada. The percentage of the prisoners who were born in Europe is more than twice as great as the percentage of European-born in the total Alberta population.

The proportionate shares of the leading immigrant nationalities in the gaol group may be expressed as follows: If a unit of the Alberta population be selected such that the representation of Austrian-born Albertans within the group

be one, the representation of Austrian-born in a proportionate unit of the gaol population would be seventeen. Thus the ratio of the percentage of prisoners Austrian-born to the percentage of our whole population Austrian-born is seventeen to one. The corresponding ratio for Ukrainians is thirteen to one, for Norwegians two to one, and for Polish two to one. For the Russian-born the ratio is one to one, that is, their contribution to the gaol population is in almost exact proportion to their share in the total population of the province. For the British Isles, the United States, and Canada, in that order, the ratios are successively less, in all three cases being less than one to one.

It is very plain from the above tables and ratios that immigrants from the countries of Continental Europe contribute a larger proportionate share to the population of Fort Saskatchewan Gaol than do the Canadian-born or the immigrants from the United States and the British Isles. Any interpretation of the above conclusions, however, must take into consideration the fact that the section of the population of Alberta from which the Fort Saskatchewan prisoners are drawn probably includes a larger proportion of the Central European immigrants than does the southern part of the province which is served by the Lethbridge Gaol. A further significant consideration is that immigrant groups usually include a disproportionately large number of adult

males, and it is only males over sixteen years that are considered in this study of the gaol population.

Social Background

Social Class of Family.— The classes of our society which furnished the background of the lives which we are studying are listed below in order of their frequency of occurrence.

TABLE XXII

SOCIAL CLASS OF THE FAMILIES OF GAOL INMATES

Social Class of Family	Frequency	Percentage
Laboring	55	46.2
Farmer	47	39.5
Business	15	12.6
Professional	2	1.7
Total	119	100.0

Economic Status of Family.— In this province social status depends very largely upon economic status. Table XXIII shows the economic condition of ninety-nine of the homes from which the prisoners have come.

TABLE XXIII

ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE HOMES OF NINETY-NINE GAOL INMATES

Economic Status	Frequency	Percentage
Dependent	8	8.1
Marginal	70	70.7
Comfortable	21	21.2
Total	99	100.0

Only slightly over one-fifth of the group have come from homes of really comfortable conditions. The great majority are from homes of marginal economic status, in which there is little luxury and frequent financial pressure. The families classed as dependent, constituting 8.1% of the total number, are those which have been on government relief during the period that the individual being considered was in the home. The economic scarcity which has characterised such a large number of these homes must necessarily have been a strong factor in determining the pastimes, the associations, the opportunities, and the general social environment of the youths who spent their impressionable years in them.

Mental Ability and Personality.

Intelligence Level.- There are two chief methods which may be used in securing data concerning the intelligence level of any group of individuals: an estimate of the intelligence may be made on the basis of personal observation, or standardized intelligence tests may be used. The method of general estimate was used by Dr. Charles Goring in his monumental statistical study of English convicts. The method of intelligence tests has been used in the leading studies of delinquent groups on the American continent. The method of estimate is bound to be influenced by the personal equation of the investigator and by his preconceived opinions. Moreover the lack of uniformity renders comparison between groups decidedly unreliable. The method of examination by means of intelligence tests is much more objective and largely free from personal bias. It possesses also the great advantages of uniformity and convenience of administration. But the exam-

ination method has its limitations, and must be carefully interpreted. It measures a limited field of mental ability and leaves out of consideration various phases of mental reaction which are included in a well-founded general estimate. The analysis here presented of the intelligence level of the group of prisoners studied in Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol is based chiefly upon the scores obtained from standardized intelligence tests, but these are supplemented, where deemed advisable, by estimates based on personal observation, and interpreted in the light of general impressions.

The most satisfactory method of intelligence examination used in this study was the Herring Revision of the Binet-Simon Tests. The Mental Ages obtained by the use of this revision have the same meaning as the Stanford-Binet Mental Ages, with which, according to Herring,^(a) they correlate 99 per cent in unselected age groups. The Terman scale assumed the average mental age of adults to be 16 years and considered 100 the equivalent I.Q. Subsequent studies have indicated that the average mental level of the general population is something less than 100 on the Terman scale. No definite conclusions have been reached as to the actual average score of adults, because of the difficulty of eliminating selective factors in the choice of sample populations. The large number of tests administered in the United States army during the war indicated an average mental age of between 13 and 14 years, but, as Wells^(b) points out the condi-

(a) Herring, J. F: Herring Revision of the Binet-Simon Tests Examination Manual: Form A, Page 4.

(b) Wells, F. L: Mental Tests in Clinical Practice, P.57

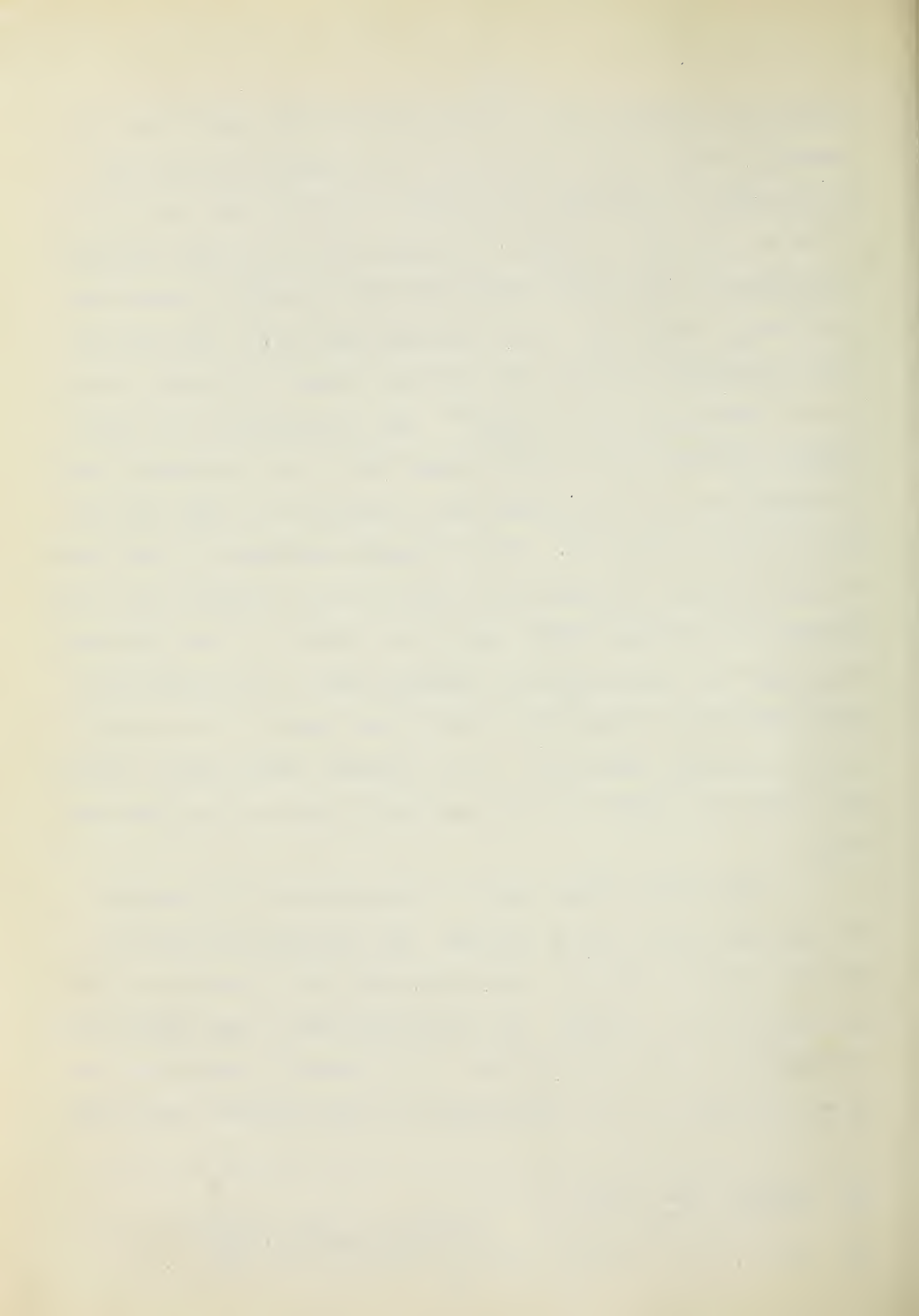
ditions of selection and of administration were such that this average is very likely below that of the general population. Wells refers to Dearborn and Pintner as authorities for the use of 14 or 14½ years instead of 16 years as the divisor for adult intelligence quotients.^(c) Terman has been quoted as estimating the average mental age to be slightly above 14.^(d) His own work with prospective firemen and policemen showed an average mental age of something over 14 years.^(e) The consideration of these various expressions of opinion leads one to the conclusion that the mental age of the average adult population is less than 16 but is not as low as 14. It has seemed justifiable on the basis of the available information to use 90 as the average I.Q., thus assuming the average mental age to lie between 14 and 14½ years. Adopting this conclusion as a working basis, the intelligence scale used for a comparison of the prison group of this study with the general population is the original Terman scale adjusted to make 90 instead of 100 the central point of the distribution.

The actual method used in tabulating the test scores for the gaol group was as follows: The mental ages obtained from the Herring Revision were converted into IQ scores by the use of 16 as the divisor. For classification of the scores thus obtained the normal distribution of the general population, as given by Terman in "The Measurement of Intelligence", was moved

(c) Wells, F. L: Ibid, P. 58

(d) Fernald, Hayes, Dawley: A Study of Women Delinquents in New York State, P. 418.

(e) Wells, F. L: Mental Tests in Clinical Practice, P. 57.



downward ten points throughout the whole range, placing 90 at the centre of the distribution and the other points accordingly. The classification thus provided for the intelligence scores of the gaol group is set forth in Table XXIV.

TABLE XXIV

CLASSIFICATION OF INTELLIGENCE SCORES OF 122 GAOL INMATES

Classification	Score in Terms of IQ	Gaol Group		General Population
		Frequency	Percentage	Percentage
Superior	Above 100	1	0.8	20.0
Normal or Average	80 - 99	33	27.1	60.0
Dull or Backward	70 - 79	37	30.3	14.0
Border-line deficiency	60 - 69	29	23.8	5.0
Definitely Feeble-Minded	Below 60	22	18.0	1.0
Total		122	100.0	100.0

The above classification of intelligence scores shows a wide discrepancy between the proportions of the various levels of intelligence found in the gaol group and the proportions accepted for the general population. Only 27.9 per cent of the gaol group tested average or above average while our classification shows 80.0 per cent of the general population to be average or superior. Those classified as of border-line deficiency constitute 23.8 per cent of the gaol group but only 5.0 per cent of the general population, while the definitely feeble-minded are

18 times as numerous among the prisoners as among the general population.

The average Herring score of these 122 prisoners was 72.9. This IQ is equal to a mental age of 11 years 5 months. If we accept the assumption stated above that the average mental age of the general population is between 14 and 14 $\frac{1}{2}$ years we find the gaol group to be about three years below the average in mental age.

The Healy Picture Completion No. II was given to 120 of the prisoners. Accurate norms were not at hand for the conversion of the P.C. scores into mental ages, but according to rough norms obtained from 160 tests for each age group the average mental age of this group of prisoners is somewhat higher than that shown by the Herring Mental Ages. There seem to be good reasons, however, for placing more confidence in the Herring mental ages than in those obtained from the Picture Completion Test. The scores from the P. C. test correlated 0.66 with the Herring IQ scores.

The Otis Intermediate Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability was given to 24 of the men. The average IQ thus obtained was 85.4. Selective factors entering into the choice of this group of 24 resulted in the inclusion of a greater number of the more intelligent prisoners. However the same 24 men made an average score of only 77.7 on the Herring, which, while 3.8 points above the average for the total number of prisoners tested with the Herring, is still 7.7 points below the average of the 24 Otis scores. In spite of the difference in the levels obtained on the Otis and Herring scores for these 24 cases, the

correlation between the two series of scores was 0.77.

A comparison may well be made between our test results and those obtained by Mr. Kibblewhite when testing 149 men in the Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol in 1930^(a). The mean IQ of the 149 prisoners was found by Mr. Kibblewhite to be 76.57. This is nearly four points above the average Herring IQ which we have found, but Mr. Kibblewhite used largely Otis tests which have been shown above to give higher scores for this group of men than those given by the Herring.

Mechanical Ability Test.- The Stenquist Mechanical Assembly Test was performed by 114 of the men in our group. The raw scores ranged from 50 to the maximum possible of 100 with an average raw score of approximately 80. Converted into T-scores the range was from 60 to 82, with an average of approximately 72. No figures are at hand for comparison of these scores with those of other groups. The Stenquist T-scores correlated 0.41 with the Herring IQ scores, and the Probable Error was 0.055

General Information Test.- A list of twenty-five questions covering a wide range of general information and arranged in order of difficulty was used as a test of the general knowledge of the prisoners. In 110 cases in which the Herring IQ was obtained as well as the Information Test score, the latter scores ranged from 4 to 24, with an arithmetic mean of 16.3. The average IQ of this group of 110 as measured by the Herring Test was 77.

To provide a norm of comparison the Information Test

(a) Kibblewhite: Mental Test Survey of the Provincial Gaol at Ft. Saskatchewan, Alberta, 1930.

was given to two groups of children in Edmonton schools whose mental ages were approximately equal to the average mental age of the gaol group. The means and medians of the distributions of test scores in the gaol group and in the two school classes are given in Table XV.

TABLEXIV

AVERAGE INFORMATION TEST SCORES OF GAOL GROUP AND OF TWO CLASSES OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

	Scores on General Information Test		
	Gaol Group	Grade VII Pupils	Grade VIII Pupils
Number of Cases	110	43	32
Mean Score	16.3	15.6	16.6
Median Score	14.8	15.3	15

The Table shows that the mean score of the gaol group on the information Test lies between the mean score of the Grade VII group and that of the Grade VIII group. The range covered by the scores is considerably greater in the case of the prisoners than with the school children, some of the prisoners scoring lower than any of the school children and others scoring higher. The general conclusion warranted by these test results is that the group of prisoners studied have on the whole a range of general information approximating that of school children in Grades VII and VIII.

Correlation of Tests Used.- A summary of the relationships between the various series of test scores used in this study is given in the following table.

TABLE XXVI

CORRELATION OF VARIOUS TEST SCORES OBTAINED IN THIS STUDY

Tests Correlated	No. of Cases	Coefficient of Correlation	Probable Error
Herring: Picture Completion	112	0.66	0.025
Herring: Stenquist Mechanical	103	0.41	0.055
Herring: General Information	110	0.69	0.034
Herring: Otis S.A. Intermediate	34	0.77	

Personality of the Prisoners.- It has been indicated above that over seventy per cent of the men in the group studied were of dull or feeble mentality. Among men of such a low general intelligence level one would expect to find dull, anemic, and weak personalities. Such is very largely the case. The general impression given by the group of prisoners is of a type of personality very dull, heavy and insensitive. There is a fairly wide range of variation and some marked exceptions, but for the most part the men are characterized much more by the lack of intensity and awareness, than by any malicious propensities. The majority are of kindly disposition and of friendly nature.

Some indication of general personality types is given by the Extrovert-Introvert Classification of the following table.

TABLE XXVII

EXTROVERT-INTROVERT CLASSIFICATION OF 82 GAOL INMATES

Personality Type	Frequency	Percentage
Extrovert	59	72.0
Introvert	23	28.0
Total	82	100.0

The above is a tabulation of estimates made on the basis of the extended personal interviews. These estimates have found, as shown by the table, that the proportion of extroverts to introverts is as 5 to 2.

An indication of the temperaments of the men is given by the following summary of the moods in which they were found when interviewed in the gaol.

TABLE XXVIII

MOODS OF 111 PRISONERS WHEN INTERVIEWED IN THE GAOL

Mood	Frequency	Percentage
Depressed	62	48.0
Cheerful	34	26.4
Apathetic	28	21.7
Not Recorded	5	3.9
Total	129	100.0

A summary of the estimates made concerning the personalities of the prisoners is given in Table XXIX. The classifications used are not entirely mutually exclusive, but the percentages are calculated on the basis of the whole group of

129 men.

TABLE XXIX

ESTIMATES OF PERSONALITY TRAITS OF 129 PRISONERS

Personality Trait	Frequency of Occurrence	Percentage of the Group of 129 Men
Dull and lethargic	52	40.3
Vivacious	28	21.7
Strong Independence	33	25.6
Irritable & ill-humored	15	11.6
Weak disposition	47	36.4
Kindly & friendly	85	66.0

Education

The educational background of the group of prisoners was estimated on the basis of their own reports of the grade attained in school, the attitude toward school, the age and reason of leaving, and the amount of study of any kind done since leaving public or high school.

The grades reached by the 110 men who gave a definite statement concerning the matter are distributed as follows:

TABLE XXX

DISTRIBUTION OF THE SCHOOL GRADES REACHED BY 110 PRISONERS

Grade	Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Per Cent of Total Known	Cumulative Percentage
0	4	4	3.6	3.6
1	4	8	3.6	7.2
11	4	12	3.6	10.8
111	3	15	2.7	13.5
IV	9	24	8.2	21.7
V	7	31	6.4	28.1
VI	10	41	9.1	37.2
VII	20	61	18.2	55.4
VIII	30	91	27.3	82.7
IX	6	97	5.5	88.2
X	4	101	3.6	91.8
XI	7	108	6.4	98.2
College	1	110	0.9	100.0
University	1	109	0.9	99.0
Total	110		100.0	

The average grade attained by the men of this group, as represented by the Arithmetic Mean of this distribution, is 6.5. The Median grade, or that reached by the man who would be mid-way in the series if the group were arranged in rank order according to the grade reached, is Grade VII. The Modal grade, or that at which leaving school is most popular for this group, is grade VIII.

The table shows that 28% of the group did not reach grade VI, and that 37% did not reach Grade VII. Of the thirty who left school at Grade VIII a large number did not finish the year, so that portion of the total group who finished public school is well under 40%. Only 19 out of the 110 or 17.3% did any work in high school, and of these only 2 went on to College or University.

Attitude Toward School.- The attitudes of the men toward



school at the time when they were in attendance have been recorded on the basis of their own recollection of their attitudes. In cases where the men were not certain what their attitude toward school had been no record was made.

TABLE XXXI

THE ATTITUDE TOWARD SCHOOL EXPRESSED BY NINETY-TWO
GAOL INMATES

Attitude Expressed	Number of Men Expressing The Attitude	Percentage of Total Group Considered
Favorable attitude	56	60.9
Indifference	12	13.0
Decided Dislike	24	26.1

The table shows that only slightly more than half of the men of this group really liked school, and that over a quarter of them had a decided dislike for the regime under which they were being educated. This comparatively large incidence of unfavorable attitudes toward schooling may well be kept in mind in considering later the early age at which a large number of this group left school and also when observing their general failure to find satisfactory social adjustment.

Truancy.- In discussing their school days forty-one of the men made definite statements concerning the extent of their school truancy. The facts thus revealed are set forth in the following table.

TABLE XXXII

AMOUNT OF TRUANCY PRACTISED BY FORTY-ONE GAOL INMATES DURING THEIR SCHOOL DAYS

Amount Practised	Number of Men	Per Cent of the Group
Much	16	39.0
Little	12	29.3
None	13	31.7

This group is hardly large enough to form the basis for any very definite conclusions, but it does seem to indicate that the percentage of truants among this group of men must be higher than among school children in general. Among this group of 41 who made statements concerning their own truancy, only 31% claimed to have played no truant, while over 68% had been deliberately irregular in attendance.

Deliberate truancy was not the only factor revealed as contributing to the irregularity of the attendance of this group at school. In a number of cases the lack of educational facilities prevented the attendance at school until a late age or sometimes altogether. In other cases, particularly among farm boys, parents or guardians kept the children at home to work during the busy seasons, and in many instances the irregularity in attendance became so great that the boys lost interest in the school work, or found themselves far behind and became discouraged. It was much less common for city boys to be kept at home by the parents.

The individuals who reported in regard to their practise of truancy are distributed as follows on the basis of the location of their homes.

TABLE XXXIII

RELATION BETWEEN LOCATION OF HOME AND AMOUNT OF TRUANCY

Location of Home	Amount of Truancy			Percentage of Each Group			Per Cent of Entire Group
	Much	Little	None	"Much Truancy"	"Little Truancy"	"No Truancy"	
City	9	5	3	64.3	83.4	27.3	39.0
Town	3	0	1	21.4	0.0	9.1	14.0
Farm	2	1	7	14.3	16.6	63.6	47.0
Totals	14	6	11	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The table shows that in this group of men truancy had been much more common in the case of those who had spent their childhood in the city than in the case of those who had lived on farms. The percentage of city boys among those who reported "much truancy" is more than four times as great as the corresponding percentage of farm boys, although in the total group the percentage of city boys is much less than that of farm boys. Similarly the group of farm boys, representing 47.0% of the total group, furnished 63.6% of those who did not play truant. The number of town boys is too small to be considered, but the figures of the table certainly emphasize the fact that within this gaol group the truancy occurred among the city boys in much greater proportion than among those whose homes were on farms.

Age of Leaving School.- One hundred and six of the men made definite statements of the age at which they left school. In some cases there had been breaks in the sequence of education

before the time recorded as that of final leaving, and in others there were later periods of night school or other irregular study. The earlier breaks are not taken into consideration here, but are allowed for in a later statement concerning the number of years spent at school. The later periods of irregular study are also disregarded here but are recorded roughly under the heading "Subsequent Schooling". The following table sets forth data concerning those men for whom the age of leaving school can be expressed with fair accuracy by means of a numerical figure.

TABLE XXXIV

AGE OF SCHOOL LEAVING OF ONE HUNDRED AND SIX GAOL INMATES

Age of Leaving School	Frequency of Occurrence	Percentage of the Group	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
9	1	0.9	1	0.9
10	5	4.7	6	5.6
11	0	0.0	0	5.6
12	4	3.8	10	9.4
13	16	15.1	26	24.5
14	37	34.9	63	59.4
15	21	19.8	84	79.2
16	11	10.4	95	89.6
17	2	1.8	97	91.4
18	3	2.8	100	94.2
19	2	1.9	102	96.1
20	1	1.0	103	97.1
21	2	1.9	105	99.0
22	1	1.0	106	100.0

The average age of school leaving for this group, as expressed by the Arithmetic Mean of the above distribution, is fourteen years and four months. The Median age of leaving, or that of the individual who ranks mid-way when the men are listed in order of age of school leaving, is fourteen years, which is

also the Modal or most frequently occurring age.

The table shows that almost sixty per cent of the group left school before they were past fourteen years of age, that almost eighty per cent left before they were past fifteen, and that almost ninety-per cent left before they were past sixteen. The fact that nearly sixty per cent of this group left school before reaching the age of fifteen years is of particular interest in view of the fact that school attendance is compulsory in this province until the age of fifteen.

The one hundred and six cases listed in the table do not include the five individuals who received no schooling at all, and also omits several others who attended school only intermittently or for short periods. If these cases could have been included the average age of school leaving would have appeared as considerably less than in the table given. Although corresponding figures for the general population of Alberta are not available, the impression given by this distribution is that the gaol population represents a group who leave school at an earlier age than the average population.

Reason for Leaving School.- Closely related to the age of school leaving is the reason for leaving. From the life stories of eighty-four of the men it was possible to record the reasons for leaving school as follows:

TABLE XXXV

REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL GIVEN BY EIGHTY-FOUR PRISONERS

Reason Given	Frequency	Percentage
Dislike of school	21	25.0
To Work Willingly	47	55.9
To Work of Necessity	14	16.7
Poor Health	2	2.4

One-fourth of the men who gave reasons for leaving school when they did, made it clear that they left on their own initiative because they did not like school. There were many others who expressed a dislike of school but with whom it was not the determining factor in bringing their school days to a close. They are therefore classified otherwise in this table.

The second and third reasons, "To Work Willingly" and "To Work of Necessity", do not divide the men clearly into two mutually exclusive groups. In many cases it was necessary to go to work and the individual was also willing. In other cases the three reasons were combined; because of a dislike of school, and the necessity of wage earning, the boy went to work willingly. The eighty-four cases tabulated above are those in which it seemed possible to estimate the reason which was the determining factor. In some of the cases listed either one or two other reasons were present but only that reason is tabulated which seemed to be decisive.

The impression left by the men's reports of their school days and the early stages of their economic life leads one to the

conclusion that the factor of economic necessity brought an end to school careers in a much larger number of cases than the above table would seem to indicate. In many cases the boy had liked school and made such progress that it would have been very much worthwhile for him to continue at school at least several years longer, but the difficult financial situation of the family made it the natural thing for the boy to leave school at an early age and go to work. As will be shown in tables below, 71% of the men studied came from homes that were rated as of only marginal economic status, and 8% came from homes that had for at least a period of time received government relief. The preponderance of homes in which the making of a living was difficult gives reason for the finding that in a large number of cases boys were taken from school at the earliest opportunity and put to work in order that they might support themselves and in many instances contribute as well to the support of the family. The factor of economic necessity seems to have been the decisive one in many of the cases in which the boy was not unwilling to leave school. This too is quite reasonable in view of the type of family represented in this population. The parents of 46% of the men were of the laboring class, and of 40% were farmers. This means that 86% of the boys came from homes of two classes which in Alberta have not on the whole built up any tradition of higher education. Among both of these classes the families which aspire to send the children to institutions of higher learning are still in the minority. Consequently the boys grow up without any ambition or desire to continue beyond public school, and their interest turns in the direction of finding work at the earliest opportunity and be-

coming established in the occupation of the parent or in a similar one. A knowledge of the kinds of homes found in this province among the two occupational classes contributing most heavily to the gaol population forms a basis for the conclusion that, although a relatively small number of the prisoners reported that they had left school against their will because of the necessity of work, in a large number of cases it was the economic status of the home that was the determining factor in bringing the school career to an early end.

Length of Attendance at School.-

TABLE XXXVI

PERIODS OF SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY PRISONERS

Years of Attendance	Frequency	Cumulative Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
None	5	5	4.2	4.2
1	2	7	1.7	5.9
2	4	11	3.3	9.2
3	3	14	2.5	11.7
4	5	19	4.2	15.9
5	6	25	5.0	20.9
6	11	36	9.2	30.1
7	16	52	13.3	43.4
8	31	83	25.8	69.2
9	19	102	15.9	85.1
10	7	109	5.8	90.9
11	9	118	7.5	98.4
12	1	119	0.8	99.2
13	0	119	0.0	99.2
14	0	119	0.0	99.2
15	1	120	0.8	100.0

a picture of
The above table presents the educational background of the group similar to that given by the distribution of grades reached, in Table XXXIV. The average number of years spent at school, as shown by the Arithmetic Mean of the distribution, was

7.2. The median of the distribution, or the score of the man who ranks mid-way between the highest and the lowest ratings, is also 7.2 years. The mode, or period of school attendance which occurred most frequently among the group is 8 years.

The average number of years spent at school is thus shown to be higher than the average grade reached, which according to Table XXXVI was 6.5. This fact indicates that the group as a whole did not average a grade per year while in attendance at school.

The table may be roughly summarized by noting that of the total group 20.9% spent less than six years at school, that 69.2% spent eight years or less, and that only 9.1% spent more than ten years.

It is interesting to note that of the seven men who received less than one year of schooling all were born in Canada except one who was born in England and brought to this province in infancy. Of the six born in Canada, two were of European parents, and the other four of Canadian born parents.

Among the reasons for the short period spent at school by many of these men are the following: Distance of farm homes from school, necessity of early work due to poverty in the home, necessity of work due to lack of parents, or to their failure to support the children, early home leaving due to trouble and unhappiness in the home, ill health, and failure to make progress in school due to mental deficiency.

Subsequent Education.- In addition to the two men who went directly to college or university after completing high school a small number did further study of some kind at some

time after leaving school. Such subsequent education was reported by only 14 of the 129 men (10.9%). The amount of this after-study varied greatly, and the types of study were equally diverse. Some of the foreign born spent a few hours a week for one or two winters at night school learning the English language and some had spent one or two years in army school in the country of origin. Among those born in Canada or the United States several had taken short courses or served apprenticeships in motor mechanics, Others had taken correspondence courses in photography and barbering, and one had become a pilot in the American Air Service. One young man had attended a religious college in preparation for an intended life-work of preaching, and another had studied telegraphy in an Alberta college.

The great majority of the men, at least eighty per cent, had received no formal education of any kind since leaving school and were accustomed to no reading other than very light fiction and magazines of the poorer kind.

Summary of Educational Background.- The group of men studied have been found to have an educational background considerably below that of the general population. The average man of the group spent slightly more than seven years at school and failed to reach the seventh grade. The majority of them did not like school, and truancy was very common, particularly among those who had attended city schools. Well over half of the group had left school before reaching fifteen years of age and nearly eighty per cent had left before passing their fifteenth year. Seven had attended school not at all or for less than one year, and over 20% attended for less than six years. Slightly

more than 10% had received formal education of some kind after leaving public or high school, and in most cases the after-education was not at all extensive.

On the basis of the interviews with the men, it was recorded that genuine benefit would have ensued from further schooling in the case of 27 of them or 20.9% of the whole group. This is decidedly a minimal figure, and was intended to refer only to those who, it was felt, would have benefitted directly by further schooling of the kind being experienced at school leaving. It takes into consideration the mental ability of each subject as measured by the series of tests used, and also the attitude which he recalls having had toward school at the time when he left. The number who would thus have benefitted by further schooling would be greatly increased if we should add those cases in which the removal of the economic necessity of early wage earning would have left the boy free to feel the possibility of continuing with his education. It might also have been augmented by a group who possessed good mental ability, but who missed so much school through the necessity of work or on account of distance from school that they found it too difficult to keep up with the work, and became so discouraged that they dropped out. But when we have taken into consideration the group who had the ability to succeed and who probably would have desired to continue at school provided the difficult economic circumstances were removed, as well as the group who actually did desire to continue, there still remains a large group who did not fit satisfactorily into the school life. The chief reasons for the failure of this group to find satisfactory school

adjustment seem to lie in the mentality and the outlook of the boys in relation to the educational system. Many of them lacked the mental ability to succeed in school work beyond the very lowest grades. Others possessed ability of a mechanical type but seemed unable to handle the more abstract conceptions required in the work of the higher grades of public school. In both groups the failure to handle the school work with ease naturally induced a dissatisfaction with the school regime. The boys of these mental types would not have profited greatly by being kept longer at school, under the general program of public school education now used in this province, but might conceivably ^{have} benefited by a kind of training suited to their particular type of mind.

The aim of this section has been to present the general educational status attained by the men now in the Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol. Our conclusion is that the majority of the men now prisoners there had less advantage from their school experience than the average citizen of Alberta. The relation of this educational factor to delinquency will be discussed in Chapter III.

Economic Life of the Gaol Inmates

Economic Status of the Home.- The economic condition of the home is the first factor in the economic life of the individual. Figures previously given (Table XXIII) show that slightly over one-fifth of the men studied are from homes that are sufficiently well provided financially to be called comfortable, and 8.1% were receiving government relief. The occupations of the fathers were shown in table XXII to be distributed as

follows: Laborers, all classes, 54.5%, Farmers, 30.5%, and Business and Professional men 8.9%.

The homes from which the men have come have presented in general a picture of the classes less fortunate financially and seldom beyond the range of economic pressure. Over half of the group studied were introduced into the economic world through the medium of a working class home.

Occupation of the Prisoners.- A general summary of the occupations followed by the men in order of frequency of occurrence is presented in the following table.

TABLE XXXVII

OCCUPATIONS OF ONE HUNDRED AND NINETEEN GAOL INMATES IN ORDER OF FREQUENCY

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Unskilled non-farm Laborers	35	29.4
Farm Laborers	30	25.2
Skilled Laborers	22	18.5
Semi-skilled Laborers	18	15.1
Farmers	10	8.4
Business	4	3.4
Total	119	100.0

The laboring men in this group show a heavy preponderance. The unskilled laborers together with the farm-hands constitute 54.6% of the total group, and with the inclusion of the skilled and semi-skilled workers, the laborers total 88.2% of the men studied.

A more detailed picture of the occupations represented among the men in the gaol is given by table XXXVIII, which lists in order of frequency the 19 occupations most common among the 562 men who were received at the Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol during

the six months ending January 31, 1931.

TABLE XXXVIII

FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE WITH PERCENTAGES OF THE NINETEEN
OCCUPATIONS MOST COMMON AMONG THE 562 MEN RECEIVED AT THE FT.
SASKATCHEWAN GAOL DURING THE SIX MONTHS ENDING JAN. 31, 1931.

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage Of Total Group
Laborer	268	47.6
Farmer	87	15.5
Miner	21	3.7
Mechanic	15	2.7
Homesteader	14	2.5
Farm Labor	10	1.8
Cook	11	2.0
Painter	11	2.0
Carpenter	9	1.6
Fireman	7	1.2
Trapper	6	1.1
Engineer	4	0.7
Truck Driver	4	0.7
Salesman	4	0.7
Baker	3	0.5
Waiter	3	0.5
Teamster	3	0.5
Railroader	3	0.5
Shoemaker	3	0.5

The following occupations occurred twice each among the
group of 562 prisoners here considered.

Civil Engineer	Blacksmith
Plasterer	Electrician
Lather	Sailor
Store Clerk	Lineman
Barber	Butcher
Plumber	Junk Dealer

A comparison of the occupations of the fathers of our
group with those of the prisoners themselves is afforded by the
following percentage distribution.

TABLE XXXIX

COMPARISON OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF PRISONERS WITH THOSE OF THEIR FATHERS

Occupation	Percentage of Fathers	Percentage of Prisoners
Farmer	36.6	8.4
Skilled Laborer	26.8	18.5
Semi-skilled Laborer	16.3	15.1
Unskilled Laborer	11.4	54.6
Business Man	6.5	3.4
Professional Man	2.4	0.0

Farmers and business and professional men are in much smaller proportion among the prisoners than among their fathers. Skilled laborers too are considerably fewer among the sons, and semi-skilled laborers slightly fewer. The only group for which the proportion is greater among the sons is that of the unskilled laborers, and here the excess is very great, there being almost five times as large a percentage among the prisoners as among their fathers.

It was noted previously that over half of the men had come from homes of the working class. Subsequent tables have shown that over seven-eighths of the prisoners themselves have found their way into laboring occupations. There is thus a distinct trend of the gaol men toward the classes lower in the economic scale. Within the laboring class itself there is a marked tendency for these men to find employment requiring less skill, less training, and less initiative than was needed in the occupations of their fathers. Corresponding figures for the general population are not directly available, but there are reasons for believing that such a trend does not greatly dis-

tinguish the gaol group from the generation of Alberta people which they represent. In the discussion of the birthplace of the men it was shown that a much larger percentage of the prisoners than of their parents were born in Canada. Consequently a larger group of the parents spent their youth in the older countries of the British Isles and Europe. It seems generally true that men and women educated a generation ago in the countries of the Old World learned a trade or some skilled occupation in a larger proportion of cases than is common among the present generation of Albertans, especially of the immigrant group. Tables XX and XXI have shown that the majority of the gaol group studied are immigrants themselves or of immigrant stock one generation removed. However, in spite of the probable truth of this qualification, it appears to be a sound conclusion that one of the characteristics of the group of men found in the gaol is their tendency to find occupations which are of a lower economic order than those of their fathers, and ^{which} require less ability and less education.

Occupational History

Initial Age of Earning.- The ages at which the men began their wage-earning work are listed in the following frequency distribution with the percentages of each group in terms of the total number of 74 for whom this information was satisfactorily obtained.

TABLE XI

INITIAL AGE OF EARNING OF SEVENTY-FOUR GAOI INMATES

Initial Age of Earning	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
11	1	1.4	1	1.4
12	3	4.0	4	5.4
13	7	7.5	11	14.9
14	20	27.0	31	41.9
15	17	22.9	48	64.8
16	12	16.2	60	81.0
17	3	4.0	63	85.0
18	5	6.8	68	91.8
19	1	1.4	69	93.2
20	1	1.4	70	94.6
21	3	4.0	73	98.6
22	0	0.0	73	98.6
23	1	1.4	74	100.0
Total	74	100.0	74	100.0

age

The average of beginning to work as represented by the arithmetic mean of the above distribution is 15.3 years. The median age, or that ranking mid-way, is 15 years, and the modal or most frequently occurring age is 14 years. Practically two-thirds of the group began work between the ages of 14 and 16. Of this group 41.9% began work at the age of 14 years or earlier, and 81.0% had begun to earn before reaching the age of seventeen. Figures for comparison with the general population are not available, but it is hardly likely that of the general male population of Alberta four-fifths have begun to earn at the age of sixteen or younger. The picture of the group thus given is in accord with that of the previous discussion of school achievement, in which it was indicated that over sixty per cent of the men had left school before completing the eighth grade. A predominant characteristic of this group seems to be early school leaving and

correspondingly early employment.

Immediacy of Work When Leaving School.- Eighty-six of the men supplied information as to the period of idleness elapsing between school leaving and the commencement of employment.

TABLE XLI

IMMEDIACY OF EMPLOYMENT OF GAOL INMATES AFTER LEAVING SCHOOL

Immediacy of Employment Or Period of Idleness	Frequency	Percentage
Immediate Employment	66	76.7
Idleness for less than 1 year	6	7.0
Idleness for more than 1 year	14	16.3

It would appear that 23.3% of the men were idle for at least a short time after leaving school, and that in 70% of the cases the idleness lasted for more than a year. This means that in something less than a fourth of the total group was a period of idleness after leaving school a probable factor in forming habits of idleness, and in encouraging a tendency to drift. It must be said in qualification, however, that with the group who went to work immediately on leaving school the first period of employment was often very short, and was followed by a series of very short jobs, interspersed with periods of varying length during which the time was spent in idleness or in travelling from place to place in search of work. The extent to which the men of this group found steady employment is indicated in Table XLIII below.

Length of Periods of Employment.- The periods of work varied greatly among the men. Some had never held one job for more than a month and others had worked in the same capacity for

periods from eight and nine years up to a maximum of seventeen years. In general, the number of men who had worked steadily at one job for a long period of years were very few. No tabular presentation of the lengths of work periods has been attempted. It would give an inaccurate picture of the work history of the men for in a great many cases there had been one period of one year or more at a single job, and the rest of the employment history had been one of continual moving from one very short time job to another not exceeding a few weeks. Seasonal employment in lumber camps, on farms, at road work and construction of various kinds had been common among a majority of the men who have been classed above as laborers, and the periods of employment for that group were on the whole even shorter than seems common among men in those types of work. Further information on this point is given in the following section on Type of Worker.

Type of Worker.- The group of 129 prisoners studied was carefully analyzed on the basis of the regularity of their work, and the kind of work habits that resulted from their ability and their attitude toward work. For this purpose the following classification terms have been used:

Drifter - The type of man who travels a good deal and holds no jobs for more than a very short period, who seems satisfied to be unemployed a good portion of the time, and who is either too restless to remain in one place or too poorly qualified to hold jobs with any degree of permanence.

Mover - The man who is more satisfied than the "drifter" to remain in one location for a period of time, and who does not desire regular periods of unemployment, but who either through

desire or lack of capacity, fails to hold jobs permanently, and is therefore regularly employed but with frequent changes of employment and in some cases of location.

Steady-worker - The man who possesses sufficient ability and sufficient tenacity and stability to remain at one job for a period of years, and who does not ordinarily relinquish his job of his own free will, but only when economic conditions make it necessary.

Non-worker - The men in this class form two distinct groups: There is one group of men represented in the gaol group studied who for various reasons have not worked for such a long period of time that they no longer think of themselves as workers, but who deliberately make their living in other ways. There is also the group who reached the age of wage-earning since the beginning of the business depression and who have consequently never found employment.

The distribution of the men in our sample group^{according} to the classification outlined above is given in Table XLIII together with the percentage which each group forms of the total number of men studied.

TABLE XLII

DISTRIBUTION OF 129 GAOL INMATES ACCORDING TO TYPE OF WORKER

Type of Worker	Frequency	Percentage
Drifter	57	44.2
Mover	33	25.6
Steady-Worker	29	22.5
Non-Worker	10	7.7
Total	129	100.0

The distribution presented above is very significant in its indication of the classes of workers represented by our gaol population, and their general place in the economic life of the province. It shows that over half of this group are either drifters or non-workers.

The factors determining that one of the above groups in which each man is found are numerous and complex. Difficult economic conditions throughout industry in general loom large in the causation of much of the drifting and unemployment. But there is usually to be found some reason for the fact that one particular individual out of many thousands possible, should be the one thus affected. Temperamental weakness, mental dullness, limited education, and lack of definite training for any task requiring skill, are among the factors which occur frequently, and usually in groups of two or more, as undermining the ability of the individual to maintain a satisfactory place in the economic order. Hence it is usually some defect of personality, or the failure of the early environment to provide adequate training, which causes the individual to be among the group of those cast

aside from the normal routine of trade and industry to become drifters, non-workers, and seekers of relief.

War Experience in Relation to Employment.- Service in the Great War had been a factor in the economic history of a number of the men. There were 18 who had seen active service in the trenches for varying periods of time. Of the total group of 129 men studied there were 45 who were born in 1900 or earlier, and therefore of sufficient age to participate actively in trench service. Hence 40% of those of our group who were of eligible age served actively in the overseas army. Several of the number carried physical injuries as a result of the war, and many suffered severe nervous shock. In the case of most of them the war experience had been a disrupting factor in their occupational careers. Most of them had left jobs to go and had found work much more difficult to obtain on their return. Several had become addicted to the use of alcohol while in the army and had allowed the habit to grow that in recent years it had seriously affected their capacity to maintain satisfactory employment. The mental outlook resulting from the war experience had become of considerable significance in some cases. A fairly definite "returned-man-complex" was evident in the attitude of some men who had suffered nervous shock and found themselves less efficient in ordinary work as a result. They had been accustomed to steady employment prior to the war, and their inability to secure such work again under the post-war economic conditions had made them feel that their country was treating with gross ingratitude the men who had sacrificed so much for her. The resulting bitterness and sense of mistreat-

ment had not increased their efforts to fit in with the changed economic conditions.

Employment at Time of Offence.- The distribution of the men according to their employment at the time of the offence for which they were serving a sentence when interviewed is informative.

TABLE XLIII

DISTRIBUTION OF THE 129 PRISONERS ACCORDING TO THEIR EMPLOYMENT AT THE TIME OF ARREST

Amount of Employment At Time of Arrest	Frequency	Percentage
Unemployed	79	61.2
Irregularly Employed	31	24.1
Regularly Employed	19	14.7
Total	129	100.0

It seems very significant that of this group of prisoners over sixty per cent were unemployed at the time of committing their offences. It is true that at the period when these men were arrested unemployment was steadily mounting in volume, and was nearing a peak in the history of the province. But at no time during the period which we are considering did the most extravagant estimates of the number of unemployed in Alberta reach an amount equal to 10% of the total population. A group, therefore, which includes more than 60 per cent of unemployed seems to depend for its size upon factors which are at least closely related to the economic conditions.

Ability to Find Work.- The ability of the men to find work under the economic conditions to which they had been ac-

customed was estimated in the majority of cases on the basis of their accounts of past occupational history, of their attitude toward work, and of their training, their contacts, and their plans for the immediate future. There were 121 cases in which the information seemed adequate to make such an estimate.

TABLE XLIV

CLASSIFICATION OF 121 PRISONERS ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY TO FIND WORK

Ability to Find Work	Frequency	Percentage of Total Group
Good	44	36.4
Indifferent	37	30.5
Poor	30	24.8
Undesirous	10	8.3
Total	121	100.0

Slightly over one-third of the men in this group were considered to have really good ability to find work under the present general conditions. One-fourth of the group are classed as having definitely poor chances of securing any employment, and ten men or 8.3% did not desire to find work at all because they preferred to live in other ways.

Expectancy of Work.- The expectations of the gaol inmates as to employment after release are summarized in the following table.

TABLE XLV

CLASSIFICATION OF GACL INMATES ACCORDING TO EXPECTANCY OF
WORK AFTER RELEASE

Expectations for the Period after Release	Frequency	Percentage
Work Expected	32	25.4
Work Hoped For	25	19.8
Drifting Expected	22	17.4
No Plans	19	15.1
Plans to go Home	18	14.3
Crime Expected	5	4.0
Relief Without Work Expected	2	1.6
Deportation Expected	2	1.6
Relief Camp Work Expected	1	0.8
Total	126	100.0

The table emphasizes the fact that the group as a whole have decidedly poor expectations as regards future work. It is seen that 15.1% have no plans at all, and this group might very well be augmented in the classification by the addition of two other groups. The group who expect to drift have no definite plans with regard to work, but intend to continue their past travels from place to place, largely by freight train transportation, securing such short time jobs as they happen to encounter. The group listed as "hoping" to work have no specific prospects of employment, but are separated from the drifters or those having no plans because they are earnestly desirous of securing steady work. A majority of those who intend to go home live on farms, so that they may be considered to have prospects for steady employment, but a small number of this group belong to city homes, and their intention to go home implies lying on relief or being supported by other members of the family.

Adding together the percentages of these various groups we find that about sixty per cent of the men studied have no definite prospects of satisfactory employment. This does not mean that none of these men will find work, but it does mean that the probability is that not more than a small number of this sixty per cent will find satisfactory economic placement at least under the present conditions of business and industry.

Marriage Relationships and Family Responsibility

Civil Status.-- The distribution of the civil states of the 129 men studied is given in the following table.

TABLE XLVI

DISTRIBUTION OF CIVIL STATUS OF GAOL INMATES WITH PERCENTAGES

Civil Status	Frequency	Percentage
Single	89	69.0
Married	27	20.9
Separated	8	6.2
Divorced	1	0.8
Widower	4	3.1
Total	129	100.0

Of this group studied only 31 per cent have at any time been married, and only 20.9 per cent were living as married at the time of imprisonment. One-fourth of the number who had married had separated from their wives, in all cases but one the separation being without legal divorce. These figures may be taken as more accurate than those given in the regular gaol statistics because they are based on detailed interviews rather

than upon brief questioning, but the discrepancy between the percentages is not great. The gaol records show that of the 1188 prisoners admitted during the year ending March 31, 1932, there were 747 or 62.8 per cent who were single. Our sample of 129 men therefore shows a larger percentage of single men than the average gaol population. This excess is due in part at least to the fact that our sample group was chosen as previously indicated to contain a larger percentage of recidivists than the average population of the gaol, and as shown in Table XLVI the recidivist group included a larger proportion of single men than do the groups of first and second offenders. The prisoners admitted during the year, however, include only 37.2 per cent who have at any time been married.

Happiness of Married Life.- The fact indicated above that of the prisoners in the group studied who had been married fully 25 per cent had afterwards separated seems to indicate that unsatisfactory marriages were common among these men. There were a number of others who in the interviews made it known that their married lives had not been happy. Of the 40 men in the group who had experienced married life 19 or 47.5 reported relations with their wives that were decidedly unhappy.

Family Responsibilities of Prisoners.- The distribution of the prisoners according to their feeling of responsibility for the economic welfare of families or relatives is given in Table XLVII .

TABLE XLVII

DISTRIBUTION OF 112 PRISONERS ACCORDING TO THEIR FEELING OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR ECONOMIC WELFARE OF FAMILIES

Attitude to Family Responsibility	Frequency	Percentage
No Family Responsibility Exists	76	67.8
Indifferent to Existing Responsibility	19	17.0
Responsibility Keenly Felt	17	15.2
Total	112	100.0

It is significant that of this group of men over three-fourths are conscious of no family relationships which they look upon as involving responsibility for economic welfare of other members of the family. An additional group constituting nearly one-fifth of the total number are conscious of family relationships which would normally be considered to involve responsibility for material support, but these men are largely indifferent to such responsibility. Only 15 per cent of total group feel keenly that their term in gaol is preventing their support of any families or relatives.

Habits of the Prisoners

Use of Liquor.- The extent of the use of alcoholic liquors among the men in the group studied is indicated in Table XLVIII.

TABLE XXIII

EXTENT OF THE USE OF LIQUOR AMONG PRISONERS

Extent of Use of Liquor	Frequency	Percentage
Heavy Use of Liquor	50	45.3
Moderate Use	37	34.0
Total Abstainers	23	20.2
Total	100	100.0

The Percentage of heavy drinkers among these men is greater than that among their fathers, as given in Table XI. Only 12.1% of the fathers were reported as being heavy drinkers in contrast to the large percentage of 45.3 given above for prisoners themselves. On the other hand there are more moderate drinkers recorded among the fathers than among the prisoners, the ratio being almost two to one. The total abstainers numbered one-third of the fathers and only one-fifth of the prisoners. The general impression concerning the alcoholic habits of the prisoners is that of a very marked tendency toward excessive indulgence. This characteristic is naturally associated with the fact that 35.3% of the men admitted during a one year period had been sentenced on charges in connection with the liquor act. The relation of the use of liquor to the delinquency of these men is discussed in Chapter III. An additional fact of significance here is that of the group who reported themselves to be heavy drinkers the largest number regarded their alcoholic habit as being entirely their master, and considered themselves powerless to break it, no matter how much they might wish to do so. There is some relationship between the strength of the habit and the

age at which it was begun. Of the 87 men who had been using alcohol, 61 reported the age at which they had begun to do so.

TABLE XXIX

Age of Beginning the Use of Alcohol	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
6 and 7 years	3	4.9	3	4.9
8 and 9 "	0	0.0	0	4.9
10 " 11 "	3	4.9	6	9.8
12 " 13 "	0	0.0	0	9.8
14 " 15 "	2	3.3	8	13.1
16 " 17 "	13	21.3	21	34.4
18 " 19 "	18	29.5	39	63.9
20 " 21 "	14	23.0	53	86.9
22 " 23 "	3	4.9	56	91.8
24 " 25 "	4	6.5	60	98.3
Over 25 "	1	1.7	61	100.0
Total	61	100.0	61	100.0

The averages of the above distribution calculated from data more detailed than that given in the table are as follows: Arithmetic Mean 18.0 years, Median 18 years, Mode 18 years. The distribution centres very closely around the age of 18 years. Those who began to drink between the ages of 16 and 21 inclusive constituted 73.8 per cent of the whole group here considered. Of the 61 for whom the data is known 77 per cent had begun to drink before reaching the age of 21, and 34.4 per cent before passing the age of 17. In some cases the children had learned to use liquor quite early in their homes, nine of the individuals studied having begun between the ages of six and eleven.

Use of Tobacco.- In the cases of 92 of the men satisfactory information was obtained concerning the extent of the use of tobacco, and these facts are recorded below.

TABLE I

EXTENT OF THE USE OF TOBACCO AMONG PRISONERS

Extent of the Use of Tobacco	Frequency	Percentage
Heavy Use of Tobacco	55	59.8
Moderate Use	28	31.4
No Tobacco Used	9	9.8
Total	92	100.0

This habit, like the liquor habit, is more widespread among the prisoners than among their fathers, but the difference is not so great, the percentage of tobacco users among the prisoners standing to the percentage of tobacco users among the fathers in the ratio of ten to nine. Of the fathers 80.2 per cent were said to use no tobacco, while only 18.4 per cent of the prisoners claimed to be abstainers. Among the prisoners who used tobacco, 70.5 per cent admitted that they did so quite heavily.

The eighty-three men who reported some use of tobacco are distributed as follows with regard to their age of beginning the habit:

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF 83 GAOL INMATES ACCORDING TO AGE OF BEGINNING
THE USE OF TOBACCO

Age of Beginning the Use of Tobacco	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
6 and 7 years	3	3.6	3	3.6
8 " 9 "	2	2.4	5	6.0
10 " 11 "	8	9.6	13	15.6
12 " 13 "	7	8.4	20	24.0
14 " 15 "	18	21.7	38	45.7
16 " 17 "	23	27.8	61	73.5
18 " 19 "	17	20.5	78	94.0
20 " 21 "	4	4.8	82	98.8
22 " 23 "	1	1.2	83	100.0
Total	83	100.0	83	100.0

The arithmetic mean of the above distribution, calculated from more detailed data, is 15.4 years. The median, or the age for the individual ranking mid-way when all are arranged in order, is 16 years. The mode, or most frequently occurring age of beginning the habit, is also 16 years. Of this group 24.0 per cent had begun to smoke before reaching the age of 14, 73.5 per cent before reaching the age of 18, and 96.4 per cent before reaching the age of 21.

Practice of Illicit Sex Relations.- Eighty-five of the prisoners reported as to the extent that they had practised illicit heterosexual relations. A summary of their statements is presented in Table III.

TABLE III

EXTENT OF ILLICIT HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONS PRACTISED BY PRISONERS

Extent of Illicit Heterosexual Practices	Frequency	Percentage
Regularly	41	48.2
Occasionally	26	30.6
Once	2	2.4
Never	16	18.8
Total	85	100.0

Almost half of the group were accustomed to illicit heterosexual practices quite regularly, and for well over three-fourths of them such practises were not uncommon. This habit was taken very much for granted by the majority of the 78.8 per cent who practised it at least occasionally, and was not by most of them classed as any more immoral than the use of tobacco.

Twenty-six of these men, or 20.1 per cent of the total group of 129 studied, admitted that they had had venereal disease either at the time of their admission to the gaol or at some previous time. These figures may be considered as representing a minimum probably much below the actual truth, as not all of the men were questioned on this point.

Of the 69 men who admitted having had illicit sexual relations 45 gave information as to the age at which they had begun the practice. A summary of these statements follows:

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF 45 PRISONERS ACCORDING TO AGE OF FIRST PRACTISING ILLICIT HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONS

Age of First Illicit Heterosexual Practices	Frequency	Per Centage	Cumulative Frequency	Cumulative Percentage
11 and 12 years	2	5.1	2	5.1
13 " 14 "	6	15.4	8	20.5
15 " 16 "	15	38.4	23	58.9
17 " 18 "	7	17.9	30	78.8
19 " 20 "	3	7.7	33	84.5
21 " 22 "	3	7.7	36	92.2
23 " 24 "	1	2.6	37	94.8
25 " 26 "	1	2.6	38	97.4
27 years	1	2.6	39	100.0
Total	39	100.0	39	100.0

The average age at which men in this group had begun illicit sexual relations is 16.8 years as represented by the arithmetic mean of the above distribution. The median age of the distribution is 16 years, and the mode is 15. The ages of beginning this practise centre for this group closely about 15 and 16 years. Of the 39 individuals, 20.5 per cent had practised illicit sexual relations before reaching the age of 15, 58.9 per cent before reaching 17, and 84.5 per cent before reaching 21 years.

In addition to the 39 individuals whose statements are listed in the above table, there were six out of the 69 who did not state the exact age of first indulging in illicit sex practices but who said it occurred first during their school days. Adding these six to the group of 23 who stated ages of 16 or less, we find that at least 29 out of the total of 129 prisoners studied, or 22.5%, had had heterosexual experiences of an

illicit nature before they were older than sixteen years.

Sixteen of the men or 12.4 per cent of the total group admitted having been guilty of autosexual practices at some time during their lives. The men seemed much more sensitive on this point than on any of the other points concerning personal conduct, and for this reason the figures given probably represent considerably less than the actual extent of such practices among the men of this group.

Gambling Practices.- The list of questions usually asked of the prisoners during these interviews did not include one respecting gambling. Consequently statements made by the men about gambling practices were usually spontaneous or due to an incidental reference during the conversation. Under these circumstances the summary of statements concerning gambling cannot be taken as any adequate estimate of the extent of the habit among the men. There were fourteen who made reference to their own practice of gambling, constituting 10.8 per cent of the total group. Of these four considered themselves professional gamblers as they made their living usually by that method rather than by other forms of work.

The Use of Drugs.- There were two men out of the 129 studied who were known to be addicted to the use of drugs. One had taken a six month period of treatment in the Ponoka Mental Hospital but seemed to have returned to the habit within a few months after release. Both the men are completely enslaved by their drugs, and neither seems competent now to earn an honest living without supervision.

Religion of the Prisoners

The distribution of the leading religious faiths among the prisoners studied is almost the same as that presented in Table IX with reference to the parents of the men. The only significant difference lies in the fact that a number of the prisoners who gave the religious denomination of their parents declared that they themselves had no religion. Consequently the proportion of those claiming no religion is greater among the prisoners than among their parents. The fact that the distribution of religions as given by the prisoners for themselves is almost the same as that given for their parents is one reason that no additional table is given to present the former. But furthermore a list of the religious denominations given by the men has little meaning. Many of the men were giving the name of the religion which was claimed by the parents, whether or not they themselves had had any experience of that particular form of worship or belief. The religious traditions of the homes from which the men have come are indicated in general by the distribution in Table X. The denominational designations of both parents and prisoners are to a large extent merely nominal.

More pertinent to the significance of the religious background is the account of the extent to which the men attended Sunday School and church themselves. The number of the men from whom this information was obtained with reasonable certainty is relatively small. The record given of Sunday School and church attendance is presented in the following tables.

TABLE LIV - a

AMOUNT OF SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE OF A GROUP OF PRISONERS
DURING THEIR CHILDHOOD

Amount of Attendance	Frequency	Percentage
No Attendance	7	10.8
Occasional Attendance	13	20.0
Regular Attendance	45	69.2
Total	65	100.0

Of the group whose experience is thus recorded the largest percentage, at some time in their early days, attended Sunday School with some degree of regularity. Among the 45 who attended regularly 9, or 20 per cent, had done so because their parents had exerted pressure, rather than because they wished to attend. Twenty-two of the men estimated the age at which they had ceased to attend Sunday School and the arithmetical average of the ages was twelve years.

TABLE LV - b

CUSTOMARY CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF A GROUP OF PRISONERS AT THE
PRESENT PERIOD OF THEIR LIVES

Amount of Attendance	Frequency	Percentage
No Attendance	48	40.8
Occasional Attendance	43	46.3
Regular Attendance	12	12.9
Total	93	100.0

The attitude of the prisoners toward religion was in

most cases not such as to bear witness to its efficacy in their lives. Many were utterly indifferent. "I've never given much thought to religion", was a frequent reply to any questioning on the matter, in a manner that plainly indicated a complete lack of significant interest. A very common view was that religion is a good thing but that it really has no relation to the kind of life a man lives. Others felt that the constant repetition of "don'ts" in religious teaching is a help to a young man in refraining from undesirable conduct. Some regarded religious teaching as an essential part of the training of children, but had no clear idea of what such teaching was intended to accomplish, accepting it pretty much for granted as part of the regime of their home and therefore of good quality. Even these men who expressed approval of religious teaching in childhood felt for the most part that it was quite superfluous for adults. There were a few who were decidedly antagonistic to religion, declaring it to be false and hypocritical. They were chiefly among the group who had accepted some measure of socialistic or communistic doctrine. On the other hand were a few who believed in religion in a magical way. One of these was a middle-aged man who said: "If I believe in Jesus Christ my sins will be forgiven. If a man does the way his Bible says and the way God says, there wouldn't be any gaol". He was very sincere in this statement of belief, yet he has served eighteen terms in gaol totalling over ten years. His apparently strong belief in a magical religion had come to mean nothing in terms of his actual conduct. Typical of the

same type of religious attitude was the mental experience of a teen-age boy who had always attended Sunday School and church regularly but who had seen no connection at all between anything learned there and the habitual stealing of the gang of boys with whom he associated. There was just one young man out of the whole group interviewed who seemed to have had a real religious life. He had identified religion with morals and was struggling consciously to achieve victory in the battle between the higher and lower desires of his nature. Religion has a real meaning for him; he is conscious of it as a power in his life associated with his own will. His experience of religion was a very marked exception to that commonly found among the prisoners. The great majority had thought so little about it that they were content to express mild approval of the church and to consider the matter then closed as far as they were concerned.

Age of Prisoners

The table below presents in parallel columns age distributions of three groups: the 129 prisoners of the sample group studied, the 1188 prisoners entering the gaol during the year ending March 31, 1932, and the male population of Canada as at the census of 1921.

TABLE LV

AGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF 129 PRISONERS OF SAMPLE GROUP, 1188 PRISONERS ENTERING THE GAOL DURING THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1932, AND MALE POPULATION OF CANADA ACCORDING TO 1921 CENSUS

Age in Years	Group of 129 Prisoners Studied	Group of 1188 Men Entering the Gaol During One Year		Male Population of Canada According to 1921 Census	
	Percentage	Per Centage	Cumulative Per-centage	Per Centage	Cumulative Percentage
0-10	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.7	20.7
10-19	17.8	10.2	10.2	19.9	40.6
20-29	44.2	38.1	48.3	15.2	55.8
30-39	20.1	25.9	72.2	13.4	70.2
40-49	12.4	15.2	87.4	12.5	82.7
50-59	3.9	7.6	95.0	8.7	91.4
60-69	1.6	4.0	99.0	5.3	96.7
70 & Over	0.0	1.0	100.0	3.3	100.0

The group of prisoners entering the gaol during the period of one year may be considered a fairly accurate representation of the gaol population as a whole. This group shows a much larger percentage of young men than does the total population of Canadian males. The class designated 10-19 includes for the gaol group only the ages 16-19 as 16 years is the minimum age of admission to the gaol. This means that the 10.2 per cent listed opposite this class in the gaol column is for only the four years 16-20 inclusive, while the 19.9 per cent in the corresponding position of the general population column includes the ten years of 10-19 inclusive. Consequently the percentage of the gaol population falling between the ages of 16 and 19 is somewhat larger than the percentage of the general male population falling within the same range of ages. The

largest single group of the gaol population is that between the ages of 20 and 29. It constitutes more than twice the percentage of the total number of prisoners that the same age range constitutes of the total Canadian population. The men in the thirties and those in their forties also form a larger proportion of the gaol group than of the total population, but the excess grows less as the age increases above thirty. After the age of forty the percentage of each age group among the prisoners is less than the percentage of the corresponding age group of the general population. Ten per cent of the prisoners are between the ages of 16 and 19, almost one-half are under 30 and almost three-fourths are under 40.

The figures as given in the table show that of the total population a larger percentage of young men are in the gaol than of the men of middle-age or more. This excess would have been greater, and would have indicated the true conditions more accurately, if the percentages for the total population had been calculated on the basis of adults only, excluding those under 16 years who may not legally be sentenced to gaol.

The sample group of 129 prisoners includes a greater percentage of men under thirty years than does the total gaol group for the year. This is largely due to the fact that in selecting the sample a larger proportion of young men were chosen in the belief that more could be learned from those who were closer to the beginning of their careers.

Offences Committed

The offences for which the prisoners studied were

serving sentences are classified below according to ten main types.

TABLE LVI

CLASSIFICATION OF OFFENCES FOR WHICH 129 PRISONERS WERE SERVING SENTENCES

Type of Offence	Frequency	Percentage
Robbery by Force	8	6.2
Theft by Fraud	13	10.1
Other Forms of Theft	45	34.9
Statutory Offences	7	5.4
Physical Injury	9	7.0
Arson	1	0.8
Vagrancy	21	16.3
Drunkenness	11	8.5
Railroad Trespassing	8	6.2
Sex Offences	6	4.6
Total	129	100.0

The first three classes, including all forms of theft, total 51.2 per cent of the total number of offences. The third class, "Other Forms of Theft" includes mainly petty theft and auto stealing. The Statutory Offences are largely breaches of the Motor Vehicles Act and the Liquor Act. The Railroad Trespassing charges are almost all for stealing rides on trains, chiefly on freights.

Sentences Served

The distribution of sentences according to length is given below for the total number of men entering the gaol during the year ending March 31, 1932.

TABLE LVII

LENGTHS OF SENTENCES SERVED BY THE 1188 PRISONERS ADMITTED TO THE GAOL DURING THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1932.

Length of Sentence	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Under thirty days	154	13.0	13.0
30 days to 2 months	437	36.8	49.8
2 months to 3 months	154	13.0	62.8
3 months to 4 months	200	16.8	79.6
4 months to 6 months	37	3.1	82.7
6 months to 9 months	127	10.7	93.4
9 months to one year	23	1.9	95.3
One year to 18 months	45	3.8	99.1
18 months to two years less one day	7	0.6	99.7
Suspended Sentence	3	0.3	100.0
To be hanged	1	0.1	100.1

The table shows that almost exactly half of the sentences during this period of one year were for less than two months, and almost eighty per cent were for less than four months. The average length of sentence for the year indicated above was two months and three weeks. The preponderance of short sentences is seen to be very great.

CHAPTER II

REPRESENTATIVE LIFE STORIES

The problems presented in this study can be properly understood only when approached with an appreciation of the individual lives which constitute the gaol population. The problem of crime, like every social problem, resolves itself finally into the problems of the individual life, and figures and generalizations are valueless unless they are interpreted in terms of the human individuals who constitute the group being studied. Chapter I has presented statistically and in general terms some of the factors and conditions in the background of the men who are prisoners in Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol, Chapter III will present in similar form the criminal part of the careers of these men, and the relationships appearing between the earlier life factors and the later delinquencies. But these statistical summaries and general discussions can have real meaning for the reader only as he thinks of the individuals concerned as real human beings. It is in order to facilitate this approach that the present chapter outlines the life stories of a number of the men who within the past year have been prisoners in our provincial gaol. It is hoped that thus the multiplex factors which in isolation seem to be only of academic interest may take on something of the color and warmth of active human life, and that the summaries of facts and the discussions of general principles may in some measure grow together in interrelatedness to form a living picture of a group of human lives moving across the stage of our social and economic life in Alberta at the present time.

No group of lives can be considered adequately representative of the gaol population, for each individual life is in itself unique, yet it is possible to select a number of life stories which do represent certain fairly definite types of offender. The group of life stories presented in the following pages indicate a number of the factors of both personality and environment which are most common among the prisoners in Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol.

Bob

Our first story is of an Edmonton boy whom we will call Bob. Bob was born in Edmonton in 1913, His father was a carpenter by trade, and by descent an Irish Protestant. His mother was of French parentage and born at St. Albert about the year 1888. The mother never attended school, and spent her youth on a farm in the St. Albert district. She is a Roman Catholic, but seldom attends church.

The father and mother did not get along well together and before Bob was old enough to go to school the father left the home altogether and did not return. The mother was left with four children, two girls and two boys, of which Bob was the youngest. She set out to support her family by working at cooking, washing, scrubbing, and rough housework in general. Apparently finding the task of supporting the children a difficult one, she placed the three youngest in a Convent when Bob was five years old. In this institution the children were given lessons and Bob seemed to find life fairly satisfactory.

When Bob was ten years old, he was adopted by a farmer and taken to live on a farm something over a hundred miles from Edmonton. Here his life was anything but happy, for although the farmer's wife was kind, the farmer himself had a violent temper, and was a heavy drinker. Bob has vivid memories of being frequently kicked, knocked down and beaten. When the farmer went into a passion, any weapons available were used to punish the boy, (including axe-handles and binder-whips.) Bob lived in continual fear, and as the wife too was afraid of the husband's temper, she could do nothing on the boy's behalf.

Bob was required to work quite hard while on the farm. Before and after school there were continual chores to do, and in the busiest seasons he was kept home from school to assist with the farm work. While attending school Bob spent such a large portion of his time working about the farm that he seldom had time or energy left to apply to his studies, and during the seasons when he was kept at home he naturally lagged behind the other pupils in the work. He lost his interest in the school work, and failed to make good progress.

During this time Bob had no contact at all with other boys or girls except during the hours that he was at school. His time at the farm was always occupied with work and he was never allowed to associate with visitors who came to the home. He found life very lonely, repressed and dreary. Although he remained with the farmer for nearly five years he claims in looking back that he was never happy for one day during that time.

As soon as Bob reached the age of fifteen and could be legally kept out of school, he was made to work on the farm all of the time. There were no breaks in the monotony, never did he leave the farm even to make brief visits to neighboring farms, and now there was no longer the diversion of going to school. After a few months Bob felt that he could endure no longer the monotony, the loneliness, the cowed repression and in February, 1928, he ran away. A neighbor gave him enough money to buy a ticket to Edmonton, and he arrived in the city alone on a winter evening. He had not been in the city for nearly five years, and he had not been at his home since the age of five, so he had very little idea how to find his way about. He walked about the streets all night, and in the morning discovered from some postmen how to find his home. He was placed in a Children's Home until the following spring. Then he returned to his mother's house and stayed with her.

It was during the ensuing months of enforced idleness that Bob first found his way into experiences of delinquency. He tried to find work, but wherever he applied was forced to admit that he was inexperienced except in farm work, and he was consistently turned down. His reluctance to go to the country to seek work can be readily understood in view of the unhappy years spent on a farm. Farm work was too closely associated in his mind with memories of misery for it to appeal to him at all. His mother was always busy all day long with her work, and had no time for him. His new existence of idleness he found almost as lonely and dreary as his previous farm drudgery had been. The only pastime that seemed to be open to one of

his background and his situation was that of loafing about the streets. Naturally he sought companionship, and he found it among boys who were situated in similar circumstances, and whose lives were spent on the street.

Among the boys with whom Bob thus became acquainted habits were common which were entirely new to him. Heterosexual relations became common with him for the first time. For some reason, Bob did not begin to smoke at this time, probably because of lack of money. The lack of money had other consequences of quite another nature. The desire to have some of the things and to engage in some of the pastimes that appear to be common to other people must play a large part in the thinking of boys of the street who have little else to do but watch the activities of the people all about them, of the crowds who are continually entering theatres, eating in restaurants, and spending prolifically in all kinds of stores. The desire for money as a means of doing some of these attractive things, combined with the urge to activity that underlies the restlessness of idle youth, soon overcame any inhibitions against stealing, once Bob's new associates had shown him that money could be obtained in that way. The practice of pilfering small articles and disposing of them at second hand stores and otherwise, secured for the boys small amounts of money that were very attractive, and at the same time furnished interesting activity for the hours that had previously hung so heavily upon Bob's hands. One venture succeeded another, and courage grew until the small group attempted more dangerous enterprises, such as

entering empty houses. It was while on an expedition of this kind that Bob was first arrested by the police. As a consequence he was placed on probation for two years.

Apparently the warning had little meaning, and certainly the probation, whatever its nature, was not very effective, for it was exactly two weeks later that Bob was again placed on trial for further charges as well as for the previous offence, and as there were now against him six charges of breaking, entering and theft, he was sentenced to two and one-half years in Prince Albert Penitentiary - a boy of barely sixteen years.

Bob is of a sensitive, shy, retiring nature, and he felt the penitentiary sentence a very heavy blow. The two and a half years seemed such a long period to spend in prison that as he looked ahead he felt that he could never endure it. But he gradually became acquainted with the other prisoners and to feel more at home. He learned to mix with the older men, and incidentally he learned to smoke for the first time. In speaking of the experience some time afterward, Bob said: "I thought at first I wouldn't be able to do the time - it seemed so long. But after a couple of months I got used to the ways of the place, and didn't mind so much. But a fellow learns a lot of things there. I guess there's no place where there's so many bad things talked about as in gaols."

After his release from the penitentiary Bob returned to Edmonton. He spent a short time at his mother's home, but she could not afford to keep him. It was then the middle of the winter of 1931-32, and of course he could find no work around Edmonton, so he went on relief. Among the group of men who

were receiving relief he met several whom he had known in the penitentiary. They were the only men in the whole city with whom he had had any experiences in common, and it was only from them that he received any measure of friendship. It was in company with one of these ex-mates of the penitentiary, a feeble-minded drifter of thirty years who had served several gaol terms for petty theft and vagrancy, that Bob entered an Edmonton warehouse and along with his companion stole small articles of hardware. While trying to dispose of these articles at a second-hand store, the two men were arrested, and both were given three months in Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol.

Bob hated the life in the gaol far more than he had hated that in the penitentiary, so much so, in fact, that while in the gaol he said it would have been better for him if he had been sent to the gaol the first time instead of to the penitentiary, because the gaol life was so much more disagreeable that if he had served his first term there he might never have returned. In spite of this intensely bitter reaction against the regime of the gaol, and apparently strong determination to keep clear of gaols in the future, it was less than four months after his release that he was sentenced to a third term, this time of four months, for further petty thefts.

Bob has retained his sensitiveness of feeling to a large extent, and when interviewed during the last gaol term seemed to feel the experience as keenly as he had done on the previous occasion. He expressed regret for his association with the boy in whose company he was when arrested, but sought to justify himself on the grounds that he had no other companions:

"I shouldn't have been going around with him, I guess, but its pretty tough when a fellow's in the city and hasn't anything to do. He wants to find somebody to walk around with and pass the time." This third term expired at the middle of February, 1933, and Bob was brought from Ft. Saskatchewan to Edmonton, deposited in the middle of the city without a cent in his pocket, and left once more to make his own way. His economic condition was precisely the same as at his first arrest, three and one-half years previously, but his mental condition was much less favorable than at the time of first incarceration. During his stay in the penitentiary he became very nervous, and since that time he has been very conscious of being a "gaol-bird." He is fearful of people watching him on the street, he feels physically weak and shaky most of the time, and is always unhappy and depressed. The contacts that he has made during these three years have been almost ^{wholly} ^ with men of criminal habits, and it is in terms of their world that he now thinks. His attitude toward life is decidedly more bitter than before his experience in the gaols. The treatment which he has received from our judicial and penal institutions has certainly had no effect whatever that would tend to decrease his unsocial habits. Unless he is dealt with in some different way by agencies or individuals capable of seeing his needs and of treating him accordingly, the chances are very great that Bob will continue to pursue his present course of continual drifting and occasional crime.

Melvin

Melvin is an eighteen year old youth representative of a number of young single men who were imprisoned for the first time in July 1932 on charges of trespassing on railroad property by riding freight trains. Melvin was born in Ontario, the son of a lumber-camp foreman who had always been steadily employed. Both the parents were of good habits, had a fair education, and attended church regularly. In a family of eight children Melvin was fourth, having three sisters older. He considers that his father was strict in his discipline when the children were small, but since leaving school and working away from home part of the time, Melvin has been left pretty much to himself.

Between the ages of seven years and twelve, Melvin attended school, and reached the Junior Fourth, corresponding to Alberta Grade VII. He liked some of his school work, but detested such subjects as grammar. He received a good number of strappings while at school, and played truant very occasionally. On the whole Melvin was quite indifferent to school, and when at twelve years there came an opportunity to take a job as chore-boy around a lumber camp he accepted it. The parents were largely indifferent to the early school leaving. The job with the lumber camp lasted a year and a half. Then he worked on a farm for over a year at \$25.00 per month. When the farmer no longer needed him he returned to the lumber camp and worked there for one winter at about \$35.00 per month.

Up to the age of sixteen Melvin had worked mostly away from home, but always near enough to his home that he often

visited it on week-ends and at other times. At sixteen there seemed to be no more work near home, so early in 1931 Melvin left home and went to the southern part of Ontario, where he spent eight months working on farms and at road work for short periods. In December of 1931 he returned home again and stayed the rest of the winter with no work except a little trapping.

In April 1st 1932 Melvin left home again to search for work. A week at Montreal brought no success. He then took the freight trains to the west, and found three weeks work on a farm at Prince Albert. The farmer needed him no longer, and again riding the freights he arrived at Calgary. As he still had some of his wages left he was able to see the Calgary Exhibition, but he found no work in Calgary. Having given up the prospect of securing work before harvest time Melvin and a friend whom he had previously met in Edmonton on his way through from Prince Albert decided to go to Edmonton and to wait there for the harvest season. Together with a very large crowd of "travellers" the two men rode a freight from Calgary to Edmonton, and got off on the south side of the river. When walking across the high level bridge the two men were arrested by a detective and later sentenced to a month of imprisonment on a charge of trespassing on railroad property.

Melvin has a mental age of about 13 years and 4 months, which according to most authorities is classed in the lower range of dull normal intelligence. He showed good ability on a mechanical test, ranking among the highest 20% of the gaol group tested. He displayed a fairly good range of general information, grading among the first 15% of the gaol group on

the general information test. He is of an easy-going disposition, taking life casually as it comes, seldom elated, seldom downcast. He dislikes the gaol, but is not greatly worried by being there. He has not written to his family during his imprisonment, and lacks the initiative to decide whether or not he should do so.

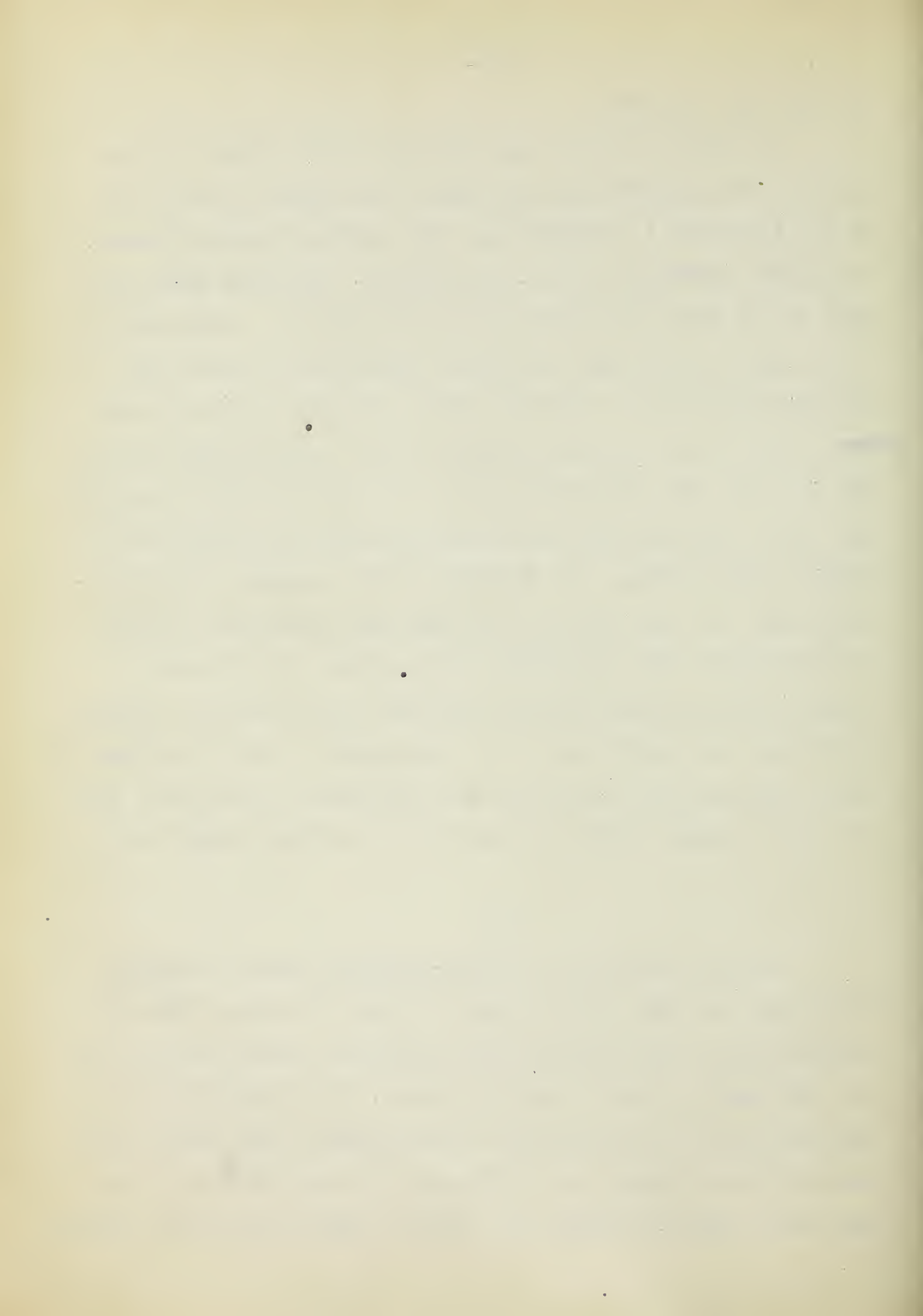
The facts impressed upon one by a study of Melvin's case are briefly these: His ability was not sufficiently high for the work of the ordinary school to appeal greatly to him. He was indifferent about school to the extent that he was willing to leave in order to accept a very ordinary job as chore boy. His rather good mechanical ability received no training or development. In the absence of guidance or training of any kind, Melvin drifted into the jobs which were nearest at hand, and most likely to be given to men with no training. Naturally of a contented disposition, he would have been content to remain in the east at the same kind of work had not the depressed condition of the last few years made work there almost unobtainable for men of his type. After a brief period of idleness he set out to look for work in the belief that there must be some somewhere in Canada. His original intention was not to come further west than Winnipeg, but not finding work readily on farms near Winnipeg he proceeded to Saskatchewan and later to Alberta. Natural dullness, lack of any training of the kind which he had the ability to absorb, and the tendency of business and depression to crowd out of employment those of least economic usefulness, seem to be the general factors which have combined

to make him a drifter.

It is not easy to say what will be the effect in the life of this eighteen year old boy of his month in gaol. He is too lethargic in disposition, too lacking in sensitiveness, to be much affected in his life attitude. That any value will come to him from the experience is not apparent. Certainly as a warning the gaol term is utterly ineffective, for it was Melvin's intention to continue riding freights on his release since he had to go somewhere, and he had no money to pay his way. Nor does the gaol experience in any obvious way tend to minimize any of the factors which were indicated above as having contributed to his drifting and therefore to his arrest. On the positive side the only value of the sentence appears to be that it has removed from circulation for a period of one month a young man who because of naturally weak ability and of economic misfortune has become one of the unemployed. And on the negative side, certainly the experience has introduced the boy to a type of social contact which can hardly be considered constructive.

Jim

Jim is the son of an Irish-Canadian farmer of Quebec. He was born in 1889, the youngest of three children. When ten years of age he attended school for three months, but he did not like school, and attended no longer. His father had no education but was in comfortable circumstances. The family relationships were happy, and Jim remained at home working on the farm until eighteen years old. Then he spent three years working



in logging camps, and came west at the age of twenty-one. In Saskatoon he found a job driving a team, and then worked at various places mostly on farms and in the woods until 1915. Three years of service in the war resulted in a wounded leg and a nervousness that lasted for some time, but no permanent injury is known. After the war Jim returned to the western provinces, and during the years since has roamed about from one job to another, usually working on farms or in lumber camps.

Since the time that Jim began to work he has been in the habit of drinking occasionally, and during the last few years the habit has grown. It is his custom after leaving each of his short time jobs to come into one of the cities and to enjoy himself for a time by loafing about and spending part of his money on liquor. His weakness for liquor became such that every time he began to drink he continued until he was completely intoxicated. Since 1925, when he was thirty-six years of age, Jim has experienced a series of arrests for vagrancy, drunkenness, creating disturbance, and breach of the liquor act. During the one year of 1930 he was convicted of such offences on seven different occasions in four different towns or cities. The penalties varied from small fines with gaol terms in default, to a three month gaol term without option. Jim continued to work for short periods and during the intermissions spent "holidays" in the cities or larger towns enjoying liquor to an extent that frequently brought him into contact with the police. At the time of interview he was serving a six month term for vagrancy. That was his twentieth conviction, at

least, in the past seven years.

The world in which Jim has lived has always been very narrowly circumscribed. He has known only the life of the logging-camp laborer, the farm hand, and the bar-room idler. His lack of education and very limited ability to read has prevented his field of interest from widening beyond that of his immediate contacts. He has not desired to do other than the simplest laboring jobs, and probably has not the ability to do any work requiring more than a minimum amount of skill. His intelligence level borders on that of mental deficiency and he is thus too dull to be concerned about his situation at any time. He is of cheerful disposition and very good-humored. His attitude toward life and people is kindly, and he accepts whatever fortune comes to him with very little complaint.

The prospects are that Jim will continue his life in just the same way as in the past, in a sequence of short time jobs, liquor-drinking festivals, and gaol terms. He realizes that once he takes even a small drink of liquor his self-control is gone, but he does not desire to desist altogether from drinking.

If we consider that by such a routine of life, men such as Jim are filling a satisfactory place in our social order, why do we seek to punish them by intermittent periods of incarceration? If we do not believe that such conduct is conducive to social well-being, the rational line of action is that which seeks a method of treatment of such men that will actually affect their future behaviour.

George

George is a boy of seventeen who was interviewed while serving a sentence of nine months on a charge of breaking, entering and stealing. He is the son of German Lutheran parents, who came to Canada just before the war and have lived in Edmonton most of the time since. The father is a butcher, but during the recent difficult times has found difficulty in providing for the family. He has been too proud to accept city relief, and has retained possession of a house in a poorer part of the city. There are five children in the family, of whom George is the second oldest. The home was fairly happy, and the father exercised enough interest in the conduct of the children that frequent strappings were administered but in a way that George did not resent.

When George was eight or nine years of age he began selling newspapers on the downtown street corners. It was while at this task that he met associates to whom he attributes the habits of delinquency which he has since practised. Boys older than himself invited him to join them in a method of making money which they claimed to be easier than selling papers. The method was that of "lifting" small articles in the large stores and selling them again to men on the street. Sometimes they were caught at this game by the police and given warning. Aware that a police warning meant the notification of his parents, and fearing a strapping when returning home, George sometimes ran away from home for periods of two or three days.

George's progress at school was not good. He did not like the school work and soon began to play truant with the older

boys whom he had met while selling papers. Playing truant from school and home at the same time groups of the boys occasionally climbed on freight trains to spend a few days out of the city. While attending school George spent very few evenings at home, but was usually enjoying himself without discipline of any kind with his boy friends on the streets. When thirteen years of age and only in Grade V George left school altogether.

About a year later he was arrested for stealing money from milk bottles, and was sent to the Reformatory at Portage La Prairie. George maintains now that he was treated too well at the Reformatory for the term to do him any good. He met many boys from Winnipeg whom he claims were much worse than any he had known in Edmonton. After a stay of a little more than one year he returned to his home.

During the next two years George worked at various odd jobs, often on farms near Edmonton. His pastimes were baseball, rugby and skating, of which sports he was very fond. Each summer the family spent some time camping at a lake near Edmonton and here George particularly enjoyed the fishing. It seems that only once during these two years did George come into contact with the police. In company with one of the boys with whom he had formerly sold papers he broke into a store. He was arrested, but dismissed, apparently because his record for some time had been good.

In the spring of 1932 George and his brothers undertook to operate a garden farm near Edmonton. They bought the little farm and the three brothers had been living on it for a few weeks when George was arrested. The charge was that of breaking

into an unoccupied house and removing various articles, and the offence had been committed some time previously in company with another of the friends of the early paper selling days. It was during the serving of this nine month term that the interviews with George took place.

George's intelligence test rating is that of border-line deficiency, but his mechanical ability is very good. His interests tend toward the mechanical. He owns a car of his own and is fond of disassembling and reassembling it. He has no particular ambitions but is very active and likes to work. His range of general information as measured by a test rated slightly less than that of an average Grade VII pupil. In disposition George is quiet and inclined to be sullen. He is too dull to be very resentful of his imprisonment, but is anxious to be released.

George seems to possess ability and activeness that qualify him to do good mechanical work under supervision, but his outlook on life and his mental limitations are such that he is not likely to become a satisfactory member of society without some measure of supervision.

Sam

Sam is a young man of twenty years who served his first gaol term in July 1932 as a twenty day sentence for riding on the tender of a passenger train. He was born in Victoria, the son of a C. P. R. brakeman, whom he reports to have been a kindly father with fair education and of good habits. The father died of a paralytic stroke when Sam was 11 years old, leaving

the mother with four children, of which Sam was the second. A grandmother made it possible for Sam to continue in school until the age of 18 years despite the poverty of the family. He went as far as Grade XI taking technical school in the afternoons during the three years of high school. Sam liked the machine work of the technical school, and planned to train to be a machinist. The death of his grandmother in 1930 made it necessary for Sam to leave school and to return to his home. His elder brother was on city relief and Sam too found it impossible to get work, except two weeks of fruit picking.

The home became very unhappy. The eldest brother was earning a small amount by working on city relief. This provided groceries for the family, but barely enough for their existence. Sam's relations with his mother were good, but both he and his brother were too moody to get along well together, and the members of the family were all worried and dejected on account of the lack of work, the poverty, and the poor prospects for the future. Finally, late in June, 1932, Sam left home not intending to return. He was so dejected that he says he often felt like committing suicide. Without any definite plans for the future, he and a friend left Victoria, intending first to seek work at Kelowna picking fruit. Finding themselves too early for the fruit season, they decided to wait until apple picking began. In the meantime Sam's friend suggested that if they visited some relatives of his near Edmonton they might find work there. Accordingly they rode a freight train to Calgary. When they were waiting in the Calgary yards for a freight to Edmonton a brakeman told them that there would not be one for

some time, and that they had better take the passenger train. In the darkness they climbed on the tender of the passenger locomotive, but only travelled as far as Red Deer, where they were arrested and sentenced to twenty days in gaol.

Gloomy and lethargic in disposition Sam offers little protest against the gaol regime. In fact he was so discouraged and depressed before his sentence that his feelings have been changed very little. He is of dull normal mentality, but tested considerably above average in mechanical ability and in general information. He dislikes travelling about, and would like to get steady work, preferably with machinery. He does not drink or smoke but has had occasional heterosexual relations since sixteen years of age. He has no plans for the future because he sees no prospect of any steady work and expects to merely drift from place to place.

Sam possesses sufficient intelligence and mechanical ability, and sufficient interest in that kind of work to make his chances for satisfactory economic adjustment good if he could be provided with steady employment of a mechanical nature requiring only a medium amount of ability. It is needless to say that the experience in the gaol has done him no good for he intends to travel about without paying train fare just as he has done in the past, except that he will be more likely to limit himself to freight trains in future. Not possessed of a keenly receptive nature he will not likely be much changed in outlook by the experience of detention, although he does speak of the large number of conversations he has listened to while

in gaol concerning the offences which the other prisoners have committed. Sam's fundamental difficulty is that of finding a suitable place in an economic order which at the present time presents difficulties too great to be overcome by one of his limited training and ability. That is the difficulty which must be met by any form of treatment which would attain the least measure of success in dealing with cases such as this one.

Morris

Morris is twenty-nine years of age and has been sentenced to terms in gaols and penitentiaries totalling ten years. He was born in Michigan and his home has always been on a farm. The parents separated when Morris was seven or eight years old, and he and his brother were kept by the father. The father moved about a good deal, so that the school attendance of the boys was badly broken up. But Morris liked school, made good progress, and came within a year of finishing public school. When he was fourteen he accompanied his father to Alberta, where they later took up a farm not far from Edmonton. Morris was restless and soon left the farm to find work elsewhere, frequently returning home to spend the winter. He travelled about freely in Alberta and Saskatchewan working at various jobs and finding a certain satisfaction just in moving about. During part of this time he had a job as sub-foreman on railway construction crews, and could have continued longer but he was not completely satisfied with the work and left it simply because he desired a change.

When he was twenty-one Morris was in Edmonton and found

himself attracted by an auto parked in an unguarded spot. He treated himself to a joy-ride and was subsequently arrested for automobile theft. He was released on probation for a period of two years, and Salvation Army officers took responsibility for his supervision. He was given work as night clerk in the Salvation Army building. Three months later the building took fire in the night, and although the blaze was immediately extinguished Morris was convicted on a charge of arson, and sentenced to a three year term in Prince Albert Penitentiary. He was released at the expiration of the term in April of 1927. After spending a few weeks at home he secured a job driving a taxi in Edmonton.

Three months later Morris was in Calgary, and again found himself attracted by a car to the extent that he went for a joy-ride on the highway outside of the city. When returning to the city with the alleged intention of leaving the car once more on the street, he ran out of gas and while in this predicament aroused suspicion and was arrested. He was sentenced by a Calgary court to two years of hard labor, and was returned to the penitentiary at Prince Albert. During this term Morris learned the trade of a baker and when he was released in the spring of 1929 he was given a ticket to Winnipeg where he intended to secure work as a baker. The attempts to secure such work were unsuccessful and he undertook to canvass for a dry cleaning company. Business had already become poor, and he derived very little income from his attempts. The \$10.00 given to him on release from the penitentiary was soon gone and although he lived in a cheap room he failed to secure enough

work to pay for his living. His health had been poorer since a severe attack of flu during the first penitentiary term, and at this time his situation worried him and his nerves became bad. He found the previous imprisonments a convenient excuse for conduct which he knew was entirely wrong, especially since he felt the second term for arson to be quite undeserved, and he began to collect a little money to live by stealing clothes from hotel rooms and selling them to second hand stores. He wished to gather enough money to go to Missouri where his brother was living, for he felt that he would improve his lot by changing his location. Before a month had passed he was arrested and convicted on nine charges of stealing clothes. Another three year penitentiary term was imposed, this time to be served in Stony Mountain Penitentiary.

At his release in October 1931 he was returned to Winnipeg. He looked for work and went to the employment office several times. The chances for employment appeared very slight and it did not seem that he was eligible for Winnipeg relief. He decided to return to Alberta to people whom he knew, and accordingly rode the freights in the direction of Calgary. At a town in the eastern part of Alberta he stopped off to visit some friends with whom he had worked in earlier years. In the night, while walking down the street of the town toward the station where he intended to take the train for Calgary, he noticed a large crack in the window of a store. It appeared an opportunity to take some of the goods within, and his weakness for the things which attract him led him to do what he really knew quite well was foolish as well as wrong. As a

result he spent three months in the Lethbridge Provincial Gaol.

When released in January of 1932 he received a ticket to Strathmore, and visited there with friends for whom he had worked when his father had farmed in the district many years previously. He expected to find work there, but there was none to be had, and the friends advised him to go home. He went to Calgary, met some people he knew, borrowed \$10.00, and lived for a time in rooming-houses. He felt too restless to seek work, but took advantage of relief meals that were being given in the city at that time. Before many days he met a friend who was driving to Edmonton by car, and they set out together. On the way the supply of gas became exhausted, and they stole some to carry them on their way. The car too was found to have been stolen, and Morris was sentenced to two years less one day in the Ft. Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol.

Interviewed several times, while serving this term, quite Morris was found **ready to converse**, and very straightforward in his way of talking. He was diagnosed by a psychiatrist as psychopathic, of a too facile disposition, as well as of borderline intelligence. He has a fairly clear sense of right and wrong, and quite a rational view of life in general. Much conversation failed to reveal any noticeably warped attitudes, but showed decided immaturity of thought. He admits quite freely all his offences except the arson charge, of which he maintains that he was not guilty. The thefts were always committed in some measure of consciousness that he was doing what he ought not to do, but he was much too thoughtless for such inhibitions to prevail over the attraction of the things that he

desired in order to enjoy life. He is determined that he will not be an offender again, but he is quite conscious of his weakness, and realizes that some change of environment or some satisfactory employment will be necessary if he is not to make similar mistakes in the future. He has no definite plans, and in fact, changes his intentions from time to time through sheer instability of mental outlook. He is very much out of touch with the normal world, for during the seven year period from his first sentence to the time that he will be released from the present term he has spent less than five months as a free man.

The basis of Morris' trouble is his weakness of mentality and of personality. The succession of gaol and penitentiary terms has done nothing more constructive than to keep him away from society during the periods of his incarceration. If the extent of our aim in such cases is to remove the men from the freedom which they are too weak not to abuse, they ought to be so removed permanently and under more constructive conditions than those of a series of expensive offences, trials, and imprisonments. If our aim includes a desire to find for the individual some such place in society as he no doubt has the ability to fill under suitable supervision, our method should be one which takes into intelligent consideration his capacities, his weaknesses, and his needs.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF CAUSES OR CONTRIBUTING FACTORS

The Search For Causes.- The purpose of this chapter is

to search for causes of the delinquency in the lives of the men we are studying. Our survey of the background and environmental factors in the lives of the gaol inmates has produced a picture of great diversity and complexity. The representative life stories have in no case pointed to single specific factors as responsible for the delinquent behaviour. But progress in social studies depends upon a full realization that there is a cause or a set of causes for every event and every condition in human life, and that the farther we can push our analysis of human lives toward the more fundamental factors in the series of causes, the fuller and more practically valuable will be our understanding of human behaviour. Causal relationships in human life are, however, exceedingly complex. Seldom can any one factor be isolated as directly and wholly responsible for a given manner of behaviour on the part of any individual. Causative factors of human behaviour do not occur separately, but in complex series of varied and intricate interrelationships. But detailed study of individual lives does reveal leading factors which contribute to the behaviour observed. Something of the interrelationships and the relative strength of various factors can be determined, and by careful and critical study conclusions of practical value can be reached. In a study of this nature dealing with the field of delinquent behaviour we cannot expect to produce an analysis that will indicate the specific factor responsible for the anti-social behaviour of a

group of men or even of an individual. Indeed we must recognize that such a specific and direct causal relationship probably does not exist. But we can expect to discover by detailed analysis some of the factors which have contributed to the particular line of conduct that has brought the individual into conflict with society. We can expect to see relationships of various environmental conditions and personal characteristics to one another and to the course of behaviour pursued. None of the factors thus discovered to be causative can be considered absolute or final, but each must be recognized to depend upon other factors earlier or more fundamental in the series. Our conclusions will thus present conceptions of delinquent behaviour and its antecedent events and conditions that are still complex and relative, and that merge at almost every point into fields of human life demanding further study and more intensive analysis. Such conclusions leave us unsatisfied, for our minds crave solutions characterized by simplicity, directness, and finality, but our conclusions are of the only kind that can be reached sincerely at the present time in dealing with the highly sensitive and infinitely complex qualities of human personality, and they are rewardingly fruitful for guidance in both practical application and further study.

Causal relationships are not determined by the mere enumeration of the characteristics and conditions found in the early lives of those who have later become delinquent, for as Healy points out in his "Individual Delinquent" many factors may exist simultaneously in a life without causal relationship of any kind necessarily being implied. However, the individual can be understood only as he reacts in and to his environment, and

a full understanding depends upon a knowledge of the factors of environment and development. In discussing specific causal factors in this chapter we shall therefore, recapitulate some of the major findings set forth in our preceding survey of the previous experience of the prisoners, thus seeking to relate specific aspects of the early life history to the delinquency of the individuals concerned. But it is only in relation to the whole of each individual life that we can understand the causal significance of any factor or condition. The enumerations in this chapter which have real and immediate value for the understanding of the causes of delinquency are those in which each factor is recorded in terms of its relation to the delinquency of the individual concerned. When in the light of knowledge of the life history, those factors are recorded which are seen to have contributed to the course of behaviour that has led to delinquency, and when similar findings are summarized for the group of men being considered, the results have genuine value as indications of causes of crime.

We shall proceed to discuss the relationships existing between the major factors of life experience and the delinquency of the men in this group.

The Home and Delinquency.- At the present stage of study in psychology and sociology there seems little doubt that the home is the largest and most fundamental factor in determining the course followed by each individual life. The home influence is so comprehensive and far-reaching that it is difficult to regard any experience of later life apart from the mould that the home has been and the impact that it has given. Whatever the

inherited capacities may be, it is largely the home that determines the extent to which they are realized. It is the home atmosphere that fixes in large measure the emotional qualities, the manner of thought, and the habits of behaviour. A knowledge of the home conditions cannot fail to give some conception of the initial tread given to the individual life. There follows a discussion of various factors in the home lives of the prisoners with whom we have been dealing in this study.

Over two-fifths of the prisoners in the group were born outside of Canada. (a) This means that in each of these cases either the home was moved during the childhood of the subject or the adult life was lived in a country other than that for which the early home training had given preparation. 8.7 per cent of the group were born in the United States, 21.4 per cent in the British Isles, and 12.7 per cent in Europe. (b) In the case of each of these groups, and particularly with the men of European origin, immigration to Canada had involved a change of social environment and the necessity of finding adjustment to a different set of social standards and laws. In addition to the group of men born in European countries, 16.7 per cent of those interviewed were born on this continent of European parents. In a large number of these cases the children had lived in a dual environment, because their parents had

(a) The group studied includes a much smaller percentage of Europeans born than does the general population of the gaol, because as indicated in Chapter I only those Europeans were interviewed whose command of English was fairly satisfactory. The total number of 1188 prisoners entering the gaol during the year ending March 31, 1932 included 58.5 percent of non-Canadian born.

(b) Similarly the total gaol group for the year included 35.0 per cent of European born.

retained the language, customs, and social standards of their mother country, while it was necessary for the children to attend an English school and to take their place in a community whose social life was markedly different from that represented in their homes. The result was inevitably some measure of cultural conflict in the lives of the children, for only with great difficulty could they adjust themselves to the thought forms and ideals of the outside community as well as to those of their homes. The extent to which such a situation has been a factor in the backgrounds of the prisoners studied is indicated by the fact that over one-fourth of them came from homes in which another language in addition to English was regularly spoken. The conflict of cultures and the difficulty of adjustment to new social modes appear also in the case of immigrants from the British Isles, although naturally in less degree than in families originating in Europe. In a still smaller degree this situation is true of the families moving from the United States to Canada, but in all immigrating families the change of country inevitably contributes to the instability of the home, and increases for both children and parents the difficulty of social adjustment. Factors which thus tend to augment social maladjustment certainly increase the probability of crime.

It has been indicated (Pages 40-42) that the nationalities most heavily represented in the gaol population in proportion to their share in the general population of Alberta are those of the Central Europeans. The highest ratio of gaol sentences to population is that of the Polish, and next in order come Ukrainians, Austrians, Roumanians, Germans, Russians, and Swedish. These

facts by no means justify the conclusion that the nationalities mentioned are those most disposed to criminal conduct. Facts to be considered in interpreting proportionate shares in the gaol population are that the area served by the Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol includes a larger percentage of foreign born than other sections of Alberta, and that immigrant populations usually include a very large proportion of adult males, which is the only group considered in our gaol study. It seems to be true that when allowance is made for factors such as these, the immigrants and children of immigrants, especially of Central European countries, constitute a disproportionately large share of the gaol group. The explanation probably lies very largely in the conflict of social customs and standards, and in the changes of cultural and administrative environment which we have discussed above. An example of the type of administrative regulation which increases the difficulty of social adjustment for the immigrant is our liquor law. During the year ending March 31, 1932, 307 men were sentenced to Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol for violations of the Liquor Act, and of these a large number were of European stock. Selecting the month of July, 1932 as representative we find that of thirty-five liquor offences ^{over} fifty per cent were committed by European born, although the gaol population included an average of thirty-five per cent of European born. Many of these men expressed indignation at their imprisonment for offences such as the manufacture of liquor in their homes, which they could not understand to be offences at all.

Besides those prisoners whose early years were spent in immigrant homes, a group of French Canadians had also experienced

a duality of language and cultural tradition. This group constituted 8.7% of the total number of men studied.

An adequate home training is very often prevented in homes that are made incomplete by the absence of one or both parents. The nature of family relationships is such that the home does not as readily play its part in facilitating the social orientation of the children when there has been a removal of one of the parents so that there is no longer one to earn the living and one to care for the home. In the homes of 38.1% of our group of prisoners one of the parents had been absent by separation or one or both parents by death. The life stories of the men who came from these disrupted homes made it clear in most cases that the incompleteness of the home had proven a detrimental factor in the total home situation, seriously limiting the training received by the children.

Among the factors recorded in particular case histories as appearing very directly in a causal relation to the delinquency of the individual were several concerning the home. They are listed below with the frequencies of occurrence, and the percentage of the whole group in which they seemed to have contributed definitely to the delinquency.

TABLE LVIII

FACTORS RECORDED IN THE LIFE HISTORIES AS HAVING CONTRIBUTED
DIRECTLY TO THE DELINQUENCY OF INDIVIDUAL PRISONERS

Causative Factor	Number of Cases in which Given Factor was Causative
Lack of Parental Interest	11
Laxity or Indulgence of Parents	13
Unhappiness in the Home	9
Liquor in the Home	5
Immorality in the Home	2
Moving of Home from Country to City	2

In addition to the factors listed above as directly contributive to delinquency in some of the cases, and in addition also to the major and obviously causative factors of cultural conflict and incomplete homes, are many conditions among those prevailing in the homes which are more subtle in their influence, but which form a part of the whole home environment and its character-shaping power. Among such are the number of children in the home, the habits and characters of the parents, and the attitudes of the various members of the family to one another. Our group includes a large proportion of men who were members of large families. Forty-eight per cent of the group were from homes containing more than five children and thirteen per cent were members of families numbering ten or more children. It is seldom that the members of families as large as those indicated receive from the parents the personal interest and care which is usually found in smaller families.

The habits of the fathers were not in the majority of cases such as to indicate the best type of moral atmosphere. Two-thirds of the men reported that their fathers were users of



alcohol, and 12.1% of the group considered their fathers heavy drinkers. Four-fifths of the fathers were found to be users of tobacco. Particularly significant are the facts that 5.4% of the men reported that their fathers had been criminally convicted in the courts, and that 14% reported the same concerning their brothers. In view of the fact that on the same basis of recording probably less than one per cent of the Alberta population have criminal records, the percentages given are decidedly high. Apparently a number of the prisoners come from homes in which court records are not unknown, and in which the familiarity with such experiences on the part of other members of the family must be an influence rendering delinquency more commonplace than it is for the children of the general population.

The education of the parents is always a considerable factor in determining the cultural influence of the home. In our group of prisoners only 15% considered their parents to have had a good amount of education, 45.0% a fair amount, and 39.3% very little. Here again we find that in a large number of the cases which we are studying the home influence was not such as to give the men a reasonably good cultural background.

We have indicated in Table IV and the subsequent discussion that a large number of the men regarded the relationships of their homes with apathetic indifference, that very few spoke of them with any warmth of appreciation, and that at least 14.4% had found their homes decidedly unhappy. It seems reasonable that men who come from homes where the relationships are strained, or even where there is merely a lack of cordiality, are less

likely than others to develop the attitude of goodwill which is essential to satisfactory social adjustment, and more likely to develop that anti-social attitude which leads to criminal behaviour.

The cordiality of the home relationships is a considerable factor in determining the age at which young men leave home. We find that of this group of prisoners at least one-fourth left their homes at the time that they did because of the failure of the home in one way or another. As indicated in Table XVI one-fifth of the men left home before they were past seventeen. The home background was found largely responsible for the age of home leaving, and in a number of cases the early age of leaving was a factor contributing to the later delinquency.

As has been indicated above, a number of factors of the home situation were found to have contributed directly to the delinquency of some of the prisoners. There were many other ways in which the home background influenced delinquency indirectly. The home determined largely the social background, the economic status, and the occupational success of the various individuals. These factors in turn affected the general relationship of the men with society, and seemed to be responsible in large measure for their delinquent behaviour.

Social Class and Delinquency.- The social classes represented among our group of prisoners are indicated in Table XXII. The laboring class provided the social environment of 46.2% of them, 59.5% came from farm homes, and only 14.3% were of the business or professional classes. These figures indicate that for the most part the prisoners studied came from the classes

that are ordinarily considered in Alberta as the lowest in the social scale. One reason for this preponderance of those whose homes have been of the lowest social class is that such classes have fewer resources at their disposal, either cultural or material, for the constructive use of leisure time. Our social system does very little to provide constructive leisure activity for those whose ^{lack of} ability or income prevents them finding such activities themselves. The result is that both the young people ^{the} and adults of the laboring class spend their spare time in idleness or learn to indulge in pastimes that are even more likely than idleness to lead in the direction of delinquent behaviour. In more than one-third of the individual cases which we have studied idleness was judged to be a direct factor in the causation of delinquency.

Economic Life and Delinquency.- The figures of Table XXIII indicate that nearly eighty per cent of the prisoners studied came from homes which could not be considered economically "comfortable". A few of the families were on relief, and the remaining seventy per cent were of marginal economic status. Forty-six per cent of the group were of laboring parentage. Quite obviously the group represents the poorer section of our Alberta population. But it would be far from justifiable to conclude that therefore the laboring man is possessed of much more criminal propensity than the neighbor of other occupational groups. There are many reasons for believing that the percentage of gaol sentences to offences is much larger among those of limited economic means than it is among those more comfortably situated.

ed. Although it has not been within the scope of this study to investigate the point there seems to be evidence that those of the laboring class who commit minor infractions of the law are much more likely to be arrested and convicted than similar offenders of the business and professional classes. Moreover the largest number of sentences imposed by the magistrate's court, in which the prisoners studied have nearly all been sentenced, are those of a gaol term with the option of a fine. Quite naturally, as a general rule, the laboring man goes to gaol because he lacks the money to pay the fine, and the man of higher social and economic status pays his fine in almost all cases where an option is given. When allowance has been made for these discriminating factors it remains true that homes of poverty furnish conditions conducive to criminal conduct more frequently than homes of economic comfort. The economic pressure, the lack of cultural environment, and the associations into which those of poorer working homes are necessarily thrown, are all factors which tend to turn the life of the working class young person in the direction of those ways of living which promote delinquent behaviour.

In the consideration of the individual case histories there were recorded a number of factors in the economic sphere which were judged to have contributed directly to the criminal conduct. These factors are listed in the table below with the percentages of cases in which they were considered causative.

TABLE LIX

FACTORS IN LIFE HISTORIES JUDGED TO STAND IN CAUSAL RELATION TO DELINQUENCY, WITH THE FREQUENCIES OF OCCURRENCE AND PERCENTAGES

Factor Judged to Contribute To Delinquency in Individual Life Histories	Frequency	Percentage of all Offenders	Percentage of all Recidivists
Economic pressure a motive to crime	21	16.3	
Idleness	44	34.2	
Present Offence Motivated by Deliberate Desire to Gain	16	12.4	
Present Offence an Impulsive theft	18	14.0	
First Offence Motivated by Economic Pressure (includes vagrancy charges)	14		15.1
First Offence Motivated by Impulse to Gain	17		18.3

The following table presents the facts which our study reveals concerning the relationship existing between the occupational adjustment of the individual and the frequency of his gaol sentences. The definitions of the terms describing the type of worker are found on pages 72-73.

TABLE LX

RELATIONSHIP EXISTING BETWEEN FREQUENCY OF GAOL SENTENCES AND TYPE OF WORKER

	No. of Cases	Percentage of Each Type of Worker Who are 1st or 2nd Offenders or Recidivists			
		Drifter	Mover	Steady	None
1st Offender	36	14.0	45.4	41.4	10.0
2nd Offender	29	14.0	27.3	31.0	30.0
Recidivist	64	72.0	27.3	27.6	60.0
Total	129	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases		57	33	29	10

The table shows a definite relationship between the type of worker and the frequency of offences. The "Drifter" group includes 72.0% of recidivists while the group of steady workers ^{includes} only 27.6% of recidivists. On the other hand the percentage of 1st offenders is three times as great among the steady workers as among the drifters. The men who do not work are sixty per cent recidivists, and only ten per cent steady workers. There is practically no difference in the distribution of offences among steady workers and that among the "Movers". On the whole it is clearly indicated that the men who have been most often in the gaols are the men who have made the poorest occupational adjustment.

Unemployment has been a large factor in the past experience of the men of this group. Only 14.7% were regularly employed at the time of committing the offence for which they were serving a sentence, and over sixty per cent were totally unemployed at that time. This percentage of unemployed is much greater among the men of the gaol group than in the general population of Alberta. In many of the life histories a definite causal relation was evident between the failure to find employment and the offence leading to arrest. All of the men in this group who had been arrested for riding trains were engaging in that kind of travel because of the difficulty of finding work. The pressure of economic need accompanying unemployment was the stimulus to theft in many more cases. The worry and concern of being unemployed had in many cases quite obviously been a factor in disorganizing the personality and undermining the adjustment to society. Some of the men who

had been unable to find work for some time had become so indignant and bitter that their attitude to society was openly antagonistic. In all of these cases the economic difficulty had been the immediate factor in causing antisocial behaviour.

Economic pressure was also the immediate cause of a number of the men leaving school at an early age. The resulting poor preparation for any life work except that of manual labor was often one of the weaknesses contributing to delinquency.

Education and Delinquency.- Closely related to the economic factor as a cause of crime is the failure of a large number of the men to remain at school long enough to obtain adequate preparation for any type of work requiring training or ability. It was often because the home was poor and the income needed to be supplemented that the boy left school to accept a job. In some cases there was a definite desire for higher education but it was thwarted by the lack of funds. Many of these men had desired to secure training in mechanical work, and their ability as tested seemed to indicate that they could have achieved a moderate degree of success at some form of mechanical work.

There were many other cases in which the individual had left school quite independently of the economic situation. Two-fifths of the men in the group had disliked school or felt indifferent toward it. Seventy per cent had practised truancy, and 39.0% had done so quite regularly. One-fourth had left school because they did not like it, and well over half had gone to work at an early age because they felt at the time that

they preferred a job to a further period of education. The dislike of school was often based on the fact that the progress in school work had been unsatisfactory. We have been led to the conclusion that in a large number of the instances here considered the school system to which the boys were subjected was not suited to their type of ability and mental make-up. They found the academic work uncongenial and irksome, and its difficulty for them led to discouragement and the leaving of school. Limited mental ability was very obviously the cause of school failure in many cases. The whole question of education depends upon the general intelligence level and the special capacities of individuals considered. These fundamental factors will be discussed in the next section in relation to the delinquency of this group.

Mentality and Delinquency.- It was indicated in Table XXIV that 72.1% of the prisoners studied were below normal in intelligence, that one-fourth were of border-line deficiency and that nearly one-fifth were definitely feeble-minded. This means that the portion of the gaol group testing normal or superior in intelligence is 27.9% while for the general population it is considered to ^{be} 80.0%. Our conclusion is that the intelligence level of the prisoners is very much below that of the average population.

This condition of low mentality greatly increases the probability of crime among any group of men. Those who are merely dull in intelligence usually lack sensitiveness of moral discrimination, and so do not experience moral inhibitions to nearly the same extent as those of normal intelligence. Those of border-line deficiency are often able to care for themselves satisfactorily.

ily as long as they do not encounter difficulties, but under the severe economic conditions of the present time it is not surprising that a large number of these men of extremely dull intellect should be crowded out of employment, and in their idleness become guilty of such offences as petty theft. Under the existing difficulties of economic adjustment few of the men who are on the border-line of mental deficiency are capable of living socially without some measure of supervision. There is a very large number of definitely feeble-minded among the gaol group in proportion to the percentage of the general population which such men constitute. Men of this level of intelligence are always likely to commit anti-social acts when not under supervision, and in none of the cases of feeble-minded individuals was the prognosis for the after-release period at all satisfactory.

The low range of general intelligence and the large incidence of feeble-mindedness among this group of prisoners leads us to seek in this factor a more fundamental cause of some of the factors previously considered. The failure to make good progress in school, and the departure from school without an adequate educational basis, were factors indicated to have played a part in the series of causes leading to delinquent conduct. But we must now recognize that a group of men including such a large number of those of low or defective intelligence could not be expected to produce a larger percentage of school successes than were found in our group.

The large proportion of economic maladjustment may also be expected to have some basis in the limited mental ability.

Table XXI sets forth the relationship that has been found between the type of worker and the intelligence level.

TABLE XXI

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPE OF WORKER AND INTELLIGENCE LEVEL OF 122 GAOB INMATES

Type of Worker	No. of Cases	Average IQ	Percentage Below Normal Intelligence	Percentage Definitely Feeble-Minded
Steady Worker	28	74.0	64.2	25.0
"Mover"	34	75.7	67.6	8.3
Drifter	50	69.5	78.0	22.0
Non-Worker	10	71.5	80.0	10.0

The intelligence level is found to be almost the same in the three groups "Steady Worker", "Mover" and "Non-Worker". The group of "Drifters" shows an average IQ 4.7 points below that of the steady workers. The numbers in the group of "Non-Workers" and in the column "Definitely Feeble-Minded" are too small to be significant. The net result of the larger numbers in the "Below Normal" column is the indication that the group of drifters includes a larger percentage of men of low intelligence than does the group of "Movers" and that both of these groups contain more men of the lower intelligence levels than does the group of steady workers. The difference between the intelligence levels of the drifters and the steady workers is significantly large, the drifter group containing a proportion of those of low intelligence 13.8% greater than that included in the group of steady workers.

It seems likely that the difficulty of economic adjust-

ment causes failure first on the part of the group whose intelligence level is so low that educational advantages were not adequately used and whose ability least qualifies them to maintain satisfactory jobs. The mental weakness is probably a large factor in the failure to obtain adequate training for any life work, and habits of short time labor and continual drifting are built up. Then the mental weakness, the lack of training, and the unsatisfactory habits of labor combine to render the individual among those of least value in any form of work, with the result that such a person is among the first to find employment unavailable. It is then a combination of the earlier factors which is responsible for the individual's predisposing weakness, and the economic difficulty of the times and consequent unemployment are immediate factors breaking down his social adjustment at the point of greatest weakness. The unemployment, as previously indicated, resulted in disorganization of personality, antagonism to society, and habits of idleness. These attitudes and habits tended to weaken the customary moral inhibitions, and when the idleness and lack of money presented situations in which there was an opportunity to steal, the long succession of contributing factors culminated in the delinquent act.

An estimate of the relationship existing between mental ability and delinquency can be obtained by comparing the intelligence level of the repeated offenders with those of the first, second, and third offenders. Such a comparison is afforded by Table XLIII.

TABLE XIII

INTELLIGENCE LEVELS OF FIRST, SECOND, OR THIRD OFFENDERS, AND OF RECIDIVISTS

Class of Offender By Number of Of- fence	No. of Cases	Average IQ	Percentage of Borderline Deficiency or Definitely Feeble-Minded
1st Offender	42	77.0	26.2
2nd Offender	28	71.2	42.8
3rd Offender	18	70.6	38.9
Habitual Offender	34	69.4	61.7

Among this group of 122 men for whom the Herring IQ was known the intelligence level is shown by the table to vary inversely with the frequency of the offence. The average IQ of 34 prisoners serving terms for the fourth time or more is 7.6 points less than that for 42 men serving sentences for the first time. In the column showing percentage of Borderline Deficiency or Definite Feeble-Mindedness the figures are too small for the difference between the percentages of second and third offenders to be significant. If we therefore group together the percentages for second and third offenders we find the percentage of borderline cases and mental defectives to vary directly with the frequency of the offences. The percentage of border line and defective individuals among the habitual offenders is well over twice as great as that among the first offenders. In general the table gives sound support to the conclusion that among this group of prisoners those who are repeaters are of lower intelligence, and the more frequent the repetition of offences the lower the intelligence.

The relationship of intelligence to the general type of offender may be observed in Table LXIII. One hundred and twenty men for whom the Herring IQ was known have been classified according to eight main types of offender. The men classed as Victims of Economic Pressure are those who would not likely have committed their offences had it not been for their economic difficulties. The group labelled "Accidental" are principally first offenders whose delinquent act was due largely to unusual circumstances, and who are not likely to repeat their offence. Those classed as "Potential Criminals" are young men who are not yet deliberately antisocial but whose early environment has resulted in such habits of delinquency that they are very likely to continue in antisocial behaviour unless some influence comes into their lives with power to reconstruct them. The men labelled "Weak and Drifting" are vagrants, drunkards, and petty thieves, who have no criminal intentions but who are so weak that they seem to be entirely lacking in control of their appetites and impulses. The group classed as of "Low Mentality" includes only those whose delinquency seemed to be directly due to lack of mental ability. The meanings of the remaining classifications are clearly indicated in the titles given to them. The method by which the intelligence scores were obtained and the meaning of the intelligence classifications used are discussed in the section on the Mentality and Personality of the Prisoners. (See Pages 43-46.)

TABLE LXIII

INTELLIGENCE LEVELS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF OFFENDER

Type of Offender	No. of Cases	Average Herring IQ	Percentage Below Normal Intelligence	Percentage Definitely Feeble- Minded
Victim of Economic Pressure	21	73.0	47.6	4.8
Accidental Offender	17	75.5	50.8	17.6
Deliberate Criminal	6	75.0	66.6	18.7
Victim of Liquor	27	72.7	77.7	7.4
Potential Criminal	14	70.0	85.6	14.3
Victim of Passion	9	66.1	88.9	33.3
Weak and Drifting	21	65.7	80.9	53.3
Low Mentality	5	53.0	100.0	60.0

The two groups of offenders whose delinquency depends the most upon external factors and the least upon the nature of the individual himself, namely the victims of economic pressure and the accidental offenders, are seen to rank highest in the intelligence scale. The deliberate criminals have an average intelligence very little below that of the two highest groups. The deliberate criminals average 11.3 points above those who are merely weak and drifting.

The group of prisoners who are victims of economic pressure includes over fifty per cent of men with normal intelligence while of the total number of men whose intelligence was tested less than thirty per cent possessed normal or superior intelligence. It seems that offences due to economic pressure have brought to the gaol a larger proportion of normally intelligent men than any other type of offence.

The three groups "Potential Criminal", "Victim of Liquor", and "Weak and Drifting" comprise over half of the 120 men here

classified. These three groups within the population studied include the largest number of repeaters and habitual offenders. Placing these three classes together we have a group of 62 men whose average IQ is 69.1, and of whom 78.8% are below normal in intelligence and 17.7% definitely feeble-minded. This means that a group of the prisoners who return most frequently and who constitute over one-half of our sample population have an average intelligence which is of border-line deficiency, and include almost four-fifths of men below normal intelligence and over one-sixth definitely feeble-minded. The significant fact is that our prison population includes a very large proportion of men whose mental ability is too limited for them to continue to live in satisfactory social adjustment without supervision.

Six of the prisoners of our sample group were given psychiatric examination by Dr. Barager and Dr. McAllister. Three were diagnosed as of psychopathic personality and three as mental defectives. Four other men who did not receive complete psychiatric examination showed very marked psychopathic tendencies. Thus at least seven of the 129 men, or 5.4%, may safely be said to be of psychopathic personality. In each of these seven cases the mental abnormality appeared to be a factor in the failure to maintain satisfactory adjustment to the environment, and therefore contributed to the delinquent conduct.

Habits and Leisure in Relation to Delinquency.- The habits of the prisoners have been discussed in a general way in Chapter I. It was seen that 45.8% were heavy users of alcohol, 34.0% used it moderately, and only 20.2% were total abstainers.

The ages at which the men began to drink varied from six years to more than thirty, with an average age of beginning of 18 years. One-third of the group had begun to drink before passing the age of seventeen. Tobacco was used by more than ninety per cent of the men and two-thirds of those who used tobacco did so heavily. This habit had been begun at ages varying from six years to twenty-three. About one-fourth of them had begun to smoke before reaching the age of fourteen and about three-fourths before reaching the age of eighteen. Of those who gave reliable information concerning their sexual life, nearly one-half practised illicit heterosexual relations regularly, and a further thirty per cent occasionally, leaving less than one fifth who had not practised such relations. The practice of illicit sexual relations had begun at ages varying from eleven years to twenty-seven. The average age of beginning was about sixteen years. One-fifth of the group here considered had begun such illicit practises before reaching the age of fifteen and four-fifths before reaching seventeen. At least ten per cent were gamblers, four of the number depending upon the practice for a large part of their livelihood. Two of the 129 men were drug addicts.

The description which this survey affords of the habits of the prisoners gives an indication of the quality of life to which they are accustomed. We find a very large percentage addicted to bad habits, and a large number who have practised such habits since a comparatively early age. This picture of the habits of the men is of more value in suggesting the tone of their environmental influences than in indicating any factors contribut-

ing directly to their delinquency. The habits of smoking and of illicit sexual experiences do not show any direct relationship with delinquency, although they appear very often to accompany other practices which have a more direct influence upon antisocial conduct. The habits of gambling, drug using, and drinking, however, appear to have direct relationships with the delinquency of the men of this group. The gambling habit was found closely associated with the lack of desire to engage in constructive work. Some of the young men had found it possible to derive a larger income from gambling than from honest work and in the course of time had lost their desire to work. The gambling practices had also brought them into contact with companions whose influence contributed to a mental outlook that was conducive to crime. The drug habit seemed to have rendered both of the men who practised it quite incapable of assuming a satisfactory place in normal occupational life. The craving to obtain supplies of the drug no matter what method might be required was quite evidently a factor in causing the drug addicts to consider illegal behaviour a necessity for them. The most strongly antisocial attitudes were found among gamblers and drug addicts.

The habit which shows the greatest direct relation to the delinquency of the prisoners we have studied is that of the use of alcohol. The fact shown in Table XLVIII that 79.8 per cent of the prisoners in our group are users of alcohol does not necessarily indicate a relationship between the alcoholic habit and the delinquency of the men. The most that such enumerations indicate is that there is a fair probability of the use of alcohol and

delinquent behaviour occurring in the same individuals. But the study of individual case histories has enabled us to go farther and to enumerate those cases in which the use of alcohol has been a direct factor in the individual's delinquent behaviour. A summary of these findings is given in Table LXIV

TABLE LXIV

SUMMARY OF NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH ALCOHOL WAS A FACTOR CONTRIBUTING TO DELINQUENCY

The Place of Alcohol As A Factor in the Individual's Delinquency	Frequency of Occurrence	Percentage of Total of 129 Prisoners
First offence committed under the influence of liquor	20	15.5
Present offence committed under the influence of liquor	24	18.6
The individual a delinquent mainly because a victim of liquor	30	23.3
The use of liquor apparently a factor contributing directly to delinquent behaviour	42	32.6

As a further indication of the extent to which alcohol is a factor in contributing to delinquent conduct it may be added that of the 1188 offences for which men were sentenced to the gaol during the year ending March 31, 1932, 307 or 25.3 per cent were breaches of the Liquor Act.

Associated with the large incidence of undesirable habits among the men who have become prisoners is the problem of the use of leisure time. Very few of the men had lived in social environments which provided constructive pastimes for the use of their

leisure. Very few had belonged to clubs or organizations of any kind when boys. Few were fond of reading, and few came from homes of sufficient cultural background to provide any variety of interests beyond that of making a living. This absence of constructive leisure activities and lack of cultural interests had tended to leave a large number of the men in their youth with much time not profitably employed. Naturally the young men did not remain inactive, but found pastimes to occupy their leisure time, and companionships to furnish them with interests. The pastimes and companionships to which they drifted most readily were those of the street corner, the pool-hall and the gambling rendezvous. Many of the young men who were classed in a previous table as potential criminals found their way into delinquent activities as members of street gangs which grew up to supply this need for group interests and for leisure time activities. The impression given by conversations with the prisoners concerning their earlier lives was that in a very large number of cases habits which led to delinquency were acquired merely because as boys they had not been introduced to any variety of worthwhile interests, to any constructive leisure activities, or to the companionship of any group of young people of their own age enjoying healthy social intercourse.

Bad companionship.- It was found that in the lives of 52 of the 129 men, or 40.3 per cent, bad associates had been an influence to delinquency. There seems to be little significance in pointing out this fact for almost all ^{of} our acts are social acts and criminal offences do not differ from other acts in being committed in the company of other people. Furthermore, it

is only natural that the associates with whom delinquencies are committed are people of the type accustomed to such offences, or likely to commit them themselves. It seems a futile circle to indicate bad company as a factor in causing delinquency. Yet such facts as we have discovered and expressed numerically in connection with this group of delinquents are of distinct value in emphasizing one central truth: the importance of associations in shaping life habits and behaviour patterns. One of the most insidious factors discovered to play a large part in the early experience of many of our potential criminals is that the very youth whose homes do not provide healthy and constructive influence or richness of interests are the youth whom the community provides with no more constructive guidance for leisure time than that afforded by motion picture theatres, cheap dance halls, pool rooms and the poorer cafes. It is the young people lacking in worthwhile interests and activities who gather on street corners to lounge away idle hours, or who form gangs to invent activities that will provide action and excitement. When guidance of any kind is lacking, it is very natural that to a large extent the activities of such groups take an antisocial direction. Our conclusion is that in the lives of a large number of the men of our group who have become potential criminals at an early age the most direct factor contributing to their delinquency has been that of undesirable associations formed out of a healthy desire for the activities and companionships that were not constructively provided in any other way.

The Press and Delinquency.- During our conversations with them several of the prisoners made spontaneous statements concern-

ing the effect upon them of crime reports in the newspapers. An Edmonton boy who has a long jail record, in describing the exploits of a small gang to which he belonged, told of frequent thefts of guns by walking into stores during daylight and daringly carrying off the desired firearms. "I wouldn't have the nerve to do it now," he said in retrospect, "But we used to get a kick out of seeing our names in the papers. That's partly why we did it."

A boy of eighteen years who was interviewed had been arrested on a charge of vagrancy while travelling by freight from his home to another part of Alberta where he had been accustomed to work on farms. An Edmonton newspaper published a very exaggerated account of the event, giving the impression that the youth was heavily armed and was intending to hold up a bank. The boy learned of the newspaper account and was bitterly indignant that his friends in the community where his standing had previously been very good should read in the paper what he considered an utterly untruthful account of his conduct. Another young man expressed indignation that a sentence of one month which he served for fighting in a moment of anger should have been reported in the newspaper with his name, so that the people of his home community came to know of the event. A boy of eighteen who was waiting trial in the jail for a very serious charge expected to receive a long penitentiary term. Even under those circumstances he spoke with very marked pride of the sensational write-ups which were being given to him in the newspapers. Another boy of about the same age who had been arrested several times for theft of automobiles made the following remark

with a real show of pride: "Didn't you read in the paper about R_____ C_____ taking cars without the owner's consent? Well, that was me!"

It may be argued with some measure of soundness that the publishing of accounts of the detection and punishment of crime is a deterrent influence, but it is difficult to make any estimate of the effectiveness of this form of publicity as a deterrent. However the instances which we have quoted make it clear that in the case of some of the younger men there are at least three undesirable effects of such newspaper publicity. The publication of the name of the offender makes his offence well known throughout the community, and thus renders more difficult his adjustment to society after his release. The indignation thus aroused in the minds of some of the men tends to increase their antisocial feeling, and even to instill a bitterness which lessens the probability of satisfactory social adjustment. In other cases, especially among young boys, the newspaper publicity gave a pleasing sensation of importance, and thus provided a stimulus for further delinquent acts.

Enumeration of Contributing Factors.- As an indication of the number and variety of the factors contributing to the delinquency of this group of men, we list below a number of these factors in order of frequency of occurrence, with the number of cases in which each factor is considered to have contributed directly to the delinquent behaviour. The factors listed necessarily overlap a great deal, for in most cases several of them occur together in their contribution to the individual's antisocial conduct.

TABLE XIV

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE DELINQUENCY OF THE PRISONERS
STUDIED WITH THE NUMBER OF CASES IN WHICH EACH
FACTOR IS CONSIDERED DIRECTLY CAUSATIVE

Causative Factor	Number of Cases In Which Each Factor is Definitely Causative
Tendency to Travel	65
Bad Associates	52
Idleness	44
Low Mental Ability	24
Lack of Money	20
Restless and Independent Spirit	20
Dislike of School	15
Lack of Parental Interest	14
Laxity or Indulgence of Parents	13
Weakness of Personality	11
Unhappiness in the Home	9
Unhappy Marriage	9
Liquor in Home During Boyhood	5
Too Much Money	3
Radical Social Views	3
Immorality in the Home	2
Use of Drugs	2
Change of Home from Country to City	2
Ill Health Resulting from Great War	1
No Parents	1

Some of the strongest and most frequently occurring factors are not included in this list because of their very fundamental nature and the consequent difficulty of estimating their direct relationship to criminal conduct. Such factors are incompleteness of the home, weakness of home standards, unsatisfactory family adjustments, deficiency of cultural background, economic difficulties, inappropriate educational methods, lack of guidance in leisure activities, and conflict of cultures and standards in immigrant homes. Many of these general conditions are much more fundamental than the direct factors listed in the table, but they are rather the predisposing causes resulting in

the weaknesses which permit direct factors to influence behaviour towards delinquency.

Conclusions Regarding Causes of Delinquency..- Our survey of the life histories of this group of prisoners has not led us to attempt any single or exact diagnosis of the causes of the delinquency of the group, or even of any one individual. We are forced, rather, to the conclusion that the factors contributing to the delinquency of these men are numerous, complex, and intricately interwoven. There are superficial influences which appear to exercise a direct effect upon the behaviour of the individuals, but these influences are always dependent upon more fundamental conditions in the previous life history. Any understanding of crime causes that is to be of practical value must take into consideration the immediate stimuli to antisocial behaviour and must also push back as far as possible in an analysis of the long series of those variously interrelated factors of experience which through the whole process of the growing life have made the individual what we find him.

In this study we have been able to follow such a method only in a limited measure, and in a way that is quite superficial in comparison with the depth and thoroughness necessary for the completeness of understanding which we desire. But we have been able to reach tentative conclusions as to the general elements in the background of these men which have been largely responsible for their social behaviour. We have found a general level of intelligence which is very low, and which has thus limited the ability of the individual to find satisfactory adjustment to the educational system, the economic world, and the general

social life of the community. We have found a large proportion of immigrant homes in which the conflict of standards and thought forms has made life adjustment more difficult. In a large number of the homes the absence of one or both parents, unhappiness of family relationships, low moral and cultural standards, or poverty and economic failure have resulted in a weak and inadequate home training. An educational system which attempts to force into a common mould children of widely different types of ability has failed to provide successfully for the training of many of these individuals whose limited ability is more readily adaptable to mechanical work than to abstract conceptions. The occupational life of many of the men has begun at an early age, and, due largely to a combination of economic pressure and limited mental ability, without any adequate training, so that only manual labor could be secured and that for only very short periods. Consequently habits of drifting have been acquired in many cases, and such a life has brought associations which have led naturally in the direction of delinquent conduct. In general we find predisposing weakness, due to low mentality, inadequate personality, or defective training, turned into a delinquent tendency by some external factor such as economic need or the attraction of alcohol.

No single theory is adequate as an explanation of crime. Criminal conduct is not a special and isolated phenomenon in our society. Antisocial conduct has its roots deep in our social system. The men who pass through our courts and our gaols register the failure of our social institutions to provide adequately for

the community life of a large class of citizens. We cannot understand the reasons for their delinquency unless we see their whole lives in relation to the social environment in terms of which all their reactions have been made. We can never deal adequately with the problem of the antisocial individual until we deal at the same time with those wider social problems which have of necessity been mentioned in our discussion of the causal factors in the lives of our group of prisoners. We have seen that the life problems of our group of offenders have been closely interrelated with the specific social problems of home relationships, education, immigration, vocational training, leisure activities, economic adjustment, and the use of alcoholic beverages. The increasing complexity of modern life is increasing the demands of society upon the individual. Economic developments are making ever heavier demands of ability and training upon all who would maintain a satisfactory position in the world of material affairs. Developments in education and in organized social activities have not kept pace with the rapid economic and industrial changes. The result is that an increasing number of those of limited native ability and inadequate home background are failing to receive such training as will enable them to measure up to the more severe standards of the economic order. This general inadequacy is basic to the delinquency of a large proportion of our gaol inmates. A more complete understanding of criminal conduct requires deeper research into the personalities of the individual offenders, and more thorough analysis of the social institutions which are breaking down the adjustments of so many individuals at their points of

weakness.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRESENT METHOD OF TREATMENT

The Underlying Theories

Many large volumes have been devoted to discussions of theories of penology, but such discussions are largely irrelevant to the problems of actual everyday practice. However, there must be in the minds of both administrators and general public a general attitude toward those who are offenders against the law, and the intellectual formulation of that attitude constitutes a working theory. There is much evidence that the actual working theory in the minds of citizens and administrators of Alberta is that which may be called the Retributive Theory: the offender has violated the law of society and society must mete out punishment in return. We express anger when a criminal act is committed and satisfaction when the judge pronounces the sentence which administers to the culprit his due punishment. We insist, too, that the treatment of those who have offended against the law shall be of a severity sufficient to justify its being called punishment. We resent an offence against the law as if it were against our own persons, and evidencing a survival of primitive passions we demand "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth". Although we have long since discarded the idea of revenge as a principle of personal reaction in civilized society, we retain it in our thinking as the basis of our institutions for the administration of "justice".

There is a second motive which plays a part in our attitude toward offenders: that of deterrence. Society must be

protected from further antisocial acts, and as an example to others who might be likely to offend, we must administer suitable punishment to current offenders. That is, we punish our present offenders for the crimes which contemporaries or future generations might otherwise commit. This is the theory which we advance in defence of our punishment of criminals when we are ashamed to admit the more obvious motive of revenge. The deterrence motive seems a questionable basis for the administration of "justice". It can be soundly defended only if it really does deter, and if its inhumanity is really needed for the protection of society as a whole. We are not aware that it has ever been convincingly demonstrated that either of these conditions are fulfilled by methods of punishment based on the deterrence theory.

A third theory which is often discussed in relation to punishment is that of reformation. There is little evidence, however, that this concept plays a significant part in the thinking of the Alberta public concerning the offenders who are dealt with by our judicial and penal institutions. Alberta has no reformatory institution for juvenile offenders and in the penal institutions provided for adults there is no evidence of any serious attempt to reform the inmates. We are forced to the conclusion that our judicial and penal policies are dictated largely by the motive of revenge, associated with the theory that punishment of offenders is necessary for the protection of society.

The Actual Treatment

Let us give some attention to the actual treatment which our Alberta institutions do provide for those who offend against our laws. We shall consider the treatment first in the courts, secondly, in the gaol, and thirdly, after release from gaol. The following discussion is based on our observation of the sentencing of prisoners in the magistrate's court and the treatment of inmates in the Ft. Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol.

In the Courts.- It has not been within the scope of this study to give any great attention to the methods and procedures of the courts, but we have made ourselves fairly familiar with the manner in which those men are treated who come before our City Police Court and are sentenced to the Provincial Gaol. It is in this court that the majority of the prisoners who go to Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol receive their sentences.

It is the policy of the court to determine whether or not the accused person is guilty of the alleged offence, and, if the verdict is "guilty", to administer such punishment as is prescribed by the law, varying the severity of the sentence according to the known circumstances, within the limits allowed by the law. The motive of the court is quite obviously to administer the law, and not to understand or treat the accused individual. Individual magistrates undoubtedly exert their efforts to understand the circumstances of the case, and to administer such punishment, within the prescribed limits, as seems most just to all concerned. But there is no systematic attempt by our courts to go behind the circumstances of the immediate situation to discover the background and motivating forces in the life of the

individual being tried. The general court policy places its emphasis on the offence and not on the human individual who is charged with having committed it. The "justice" of the court extends only to the administering of whatever punishment within the legal limits seems most in keeping with the circumstances under which the offending act was committed. As at present constituted our courts do not seek to administer that type of justice which involves an understanding of the causative factors in the life of the offender and an attempt to prescribe the treatment most likely to restore him to a satisfactory place in society.

Many men are sentenced to terms of imprisonment without spending more than a very few minutes in the presence of the magistrate. The magistrate becomes informed of the nature of the offence, receives a plea of "guilty" from the prisoner, and immediately imposes the sentence prescribed by the law. In courts constituted as ours are at present it is inevitable that the sentence is imposed without a diagnosis of the real cause of the act, and without a knowledge of the effect which the sentence is likely to have upon the future of the individual concerned or upon his reaction to society.

Treatment in the Gaol.- The internal life of the gaol is efficiently administered, and the routine flows along with smooth regularity. The prisoners who are in good health are employed regularly in some branch of work associated with the institution or on the gaol farm. For most of the men the working day is eight hours long, but those who care for livestock and do other chores work longer. The kinds of work requiring a

number of men are done usually by gangs of twelve prisoners under the supervision of an armed guard. Most of the work is of a very healthful nature, a large proportion being done in the open air. There are, however, a number of prisoners regularly employed within the gaol building as sweepers and scrubbers. In a general way the men are assigned to work which is appropriate to their type of ability, but the possible limits of choice of work are not wide. In addition to the men who work in gangs under armed guards and to those who work within the gaol building are a number of prisoners known as "trusties" who are allowed to do various jobs around the farm without supervision. Very rarely does one of the men placed on his own responsibility attempt to escape from the gaol.

All of the able-bodied men serving sentences eat their meals together in a dining hall. Strict silence is enforced among the prisoners while they are in the dining hall or marching to and from it. The food served is for the most part, wholesome, and fairly well prepared. But the prisoners do the baking, and it is not always done most efficiently. The majority of the men complain bitterly about the quality of the food, and insist that it would cost no more to prepare it in a more acceptable way. However, it is quite to be expected that where a number of men are gathered together under a regime of force, and where they have very little of constructive interest to occupy their minds, a considerable portion of their attention will be directed to criticism and complaint concerning the conditions under which they are living. It is true that the food is monotonous, but changes recently made by Warden McLean have made it less so than

formerly. There are few luxuries: no sugar in tea, no butter on bread, and dessert only once per week. Any statement concerning the quality of the food depends upon the viewpoint as to the function of a jail. If it is considered a place for punishment by ill treatment, monotony of food is one effective method, and a method that is actually in use in our jail. But in general the food is much better than would be assigned in accordance with a deliberate policy of punishment by such deprivation.

The living quarters provided for the prisoners are of two distinct kinds: cells and dormitories. Each of the two cell blocks contains two rows of cells three tiers deep. The cells have solid walls, and heavy steel doors each with a small glass window facing the large central corridor. Each cell has a window in the outer wall admitting light, but glazed so that the prisoner cannot see outside. The windows do not open, so no fresh air enters directly from the outside. Ventilation is provided by flues in the walls through which the air is forced by a large electrically-driven fan. One prisoner occupies each cell, and when the door is closed he has no opportunity to converse with any other prisoner.

Those prisoners who are engaged in ordinary forms of work are confined to their cells for about fifteen hours out of every twenty-four, except on Sundays and holidays when they are out of their cells for less than three hours. This means that a large number of the prisoners spend two-thirds of their time in actual solitary confinement.

Approximately two hundred prisoners are housed in the

cells. The remainder occupy dormitories in each of which there are twelve beds, one or two tables, and some benches. The twelve men in each dormitory have almost complete freedom of conversation among themselves. They are also allowed such pastimes as checkers and cards.

The reason for the two conditions of housing and the two methods of treatment seems to be the lack of sufficient cell accommodation for the number of prisoners usually in the jail. At the present time, however, the dormitory method of treatment is used as something of a promotion and reward system. Those prisoners who show themselves capable and dependable in such tasks as caring for the cattle, horses, and pigs, operating farm machinery, or firing the boilers, are given quarters in the dormitories. If a man breaks a rule of discipline or shows that he cannot be depended upon to perform his task adequately he is given a job of lower rank and often is at the same time transferred from dormitory to cell. There is no systematic method of awarding marks of merit or demerit, but the prisoners are so well aware of the advantages of life in the dormitory over that in the cells that in many cases the realization of the possibility of transfer from cell to dormitory is a real incentive to conscientious work and good behaviour.

There is freedom to talk in the dormitory, which in the minds of the prisoners, is a tremendous advantage over the solitary confinement of the cells. The recreations of checkers and cards are a very welcome addition to the single pastime which the cells afford, that of reading. The men in the cells must be in bed by six thirty in the evening, while those in the dormitories need not

retire until nine o'clock. The lights in the dormitories are extinguished at nine o'clock in the evening; in the cells the lights remain on all night. Both early retirement and the bright lighting throughout the night give the cell inmates additional subjects for complaint. The strongest reason for the preference of the dormitories is the companionship that is afforded there. The prisoners thoroughly dread and hate the lonely hours of confinement in the cells.

There is no program of occupational training for the prisoners. Whatever vocational training is received is obtained incidentally as the men carry on the work necessary for the support of the institution. Two men at a time are assigned to the shoe repair shop, two to the barber shop, one to the blacksmith shop, six to firing the boilers in the power plant, several to the laundry, two to the offices, and others to such tasks as cooking, baking, milking cows, driving horses and operating machinery. When new buildings are being constructed, a number of the men work as carpenters, plasterers, and painters. Naturally the men who work at each of these tasks know more about that particular kind of work when they leave the gaol than when they entered. But the men assigned to each task are those able to do the work most efficiently, rather than those for whom the experience would be most valuable. The barbering, for example, is done in so far as possible, by men who had previously been good barbers, rather than by men to whom it would be an advantage to learn the trade of barbering. Moreover, a large number of the men are not given an opportunity to do work of any greater educational value than scrubbing floors, hoeing gardens, mowing lawns, or pulling weeds.

The institution as it exists at present simply does not provide facilities for occupational training of any real value for more than a very small number of men. The trades that are necessary to the life of the institution exist on such a small scale that they do not permit of adaption to purposes of training. Furthermore the terms served by the men are in general so short that in very few cases could training be of sufficient length to be valuable. The average term served in the gaol is less than three months and about half are less than two months. Less than five per cent of the sentences are for one year or more¹. Under a judicial system imposing such a preponderance of short sentences no effective program of any kind of training is feasible.

Education of academic nature had not been attempted until, in the closing months of 1932, Warden McLean instituted a class for those who would profit by teaching in the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Under charge of a high school teacher of the town, the class meets two evenings per week, and the men are furnished with materials that enable them to spend part of the time in the cells practising their reading and writing. The prisoners who have been given this opportunity to use some of their enforced leisure time in overcoming to some extent their previous lack of education are very grateful for it, and by means of eager and conscientious industry are making good progress. This prison school has begun on a small scale, but if its present success continues, the Warden hopes to extend it as facilities permit.

¹ Table LVII, Page 96, gives distribution of sentences.

In general the routine of the gaol life is drearily monotonous. Rising by a bell in the morning, the prisoners continue throughout the day in accordance with a schedule that changes only on Sundays and holidays. The additional leisure of Sundays and holidays is usually unwelcome to the prisoners, for they prefer the outdoor work to the monotony of confinement. The enforced silence, in the dining room and among the prisoners generally, increases the monotony and repressiveness of the atmosphere. It is only by fear that men can be prevented from talking, and when they cannot talk openly they take every opportunity to do so clandestinely. Thus to the monotony of the atmosphere is added repressiveness and stealth.

Discipline is rigidly enforced. A small number of guards handle the large group of prisoners by the use of strict militaristic methods. There is very little insubordination. The chief offences against discipline are talking at the wrong times or places, and addressing officers improperly. The most common punishments for disciplinary offences are the cancellation of part or all of the prisoners remission,¹ confinement to cell with a diet of bread and water, confinement to the dark cell for a maximum period of three days and three nights with two rations of bread and water each day.

The atmosphere in which the prisoners in the cell blocks live is monotonous, strict, and repressive. There is somewhat more freedom permitted to the men in the dormitories. There is

¹ The system at present used in Provincial Gaols provides that a certain number of days be struck off each sentence unless the behaviour of the prisoner during incarceration is unsatisfactory.

no evidence of any cruelty whatever of a physical nature, and in spite of the necessity for very rigid discipline when dealing with the man in large groups, the personal relationships between officers and prisoners are often quite kindly and friendly.

There is much moral and mental suffering on the part of the more sensitive prisoners, due to the monotony and repression, to the brooding resulting from the lack of healthful interests, and to the unsatisfied need for companionship and personal interest.

The conversations of the men in the dormitories, and the playing of checkers and cards, are the only recreations of social activities permitted to the prisoners. Those in the cells are allowed no social activities of any kind, and no recreations except reading. The one possible exception to this generalization is the regular Sunday afternoon meeting of the Salvation Army, and since talking among the men is strictly forbidden at this service it can hardly be considered a normal social activity. However, the music and singing led by the Salvation Army visitors provide an interest for most of the men which makes the meeting a pleasant break in the monotony of the week's routine. Very much appreciated by the prisoners are the occasional visits of a Salvation Army band on holidays. Besides enjoying the music and singing, some of the men take a real interest in the messages given by the speakers. For the most part, however, the meetings hold no great religious significance for them. The language used by the speakers is largely that of orthodox evangelical Protestantism, and long familiarity with it has apparently rendered most of the men immune to its appeal. It is exceedingly difficult to estimate the impact of religious messages in the

lives of individuals, but it seems so clear that personal contact with someone who comes to know them individually would affect the man of this group much more vitally than does the familiar evangelical appeal in a mass meeting. With the exception of the weekly Salvation Army services, and the recent innovation of the elementary school class, the gaol program makes no direct effort to reconstruct the men, or to send them forth better citizens than when they entered.

After Release.- An account of the treatment given to prisoners after their release from our gaol need occupy little space. Officially, there is none. The prisoners whose terms are ended are in most cases taken by a guard to the roadway and placed on the bus which delivers them to the Edmonton bus depot. They dismount from the bus as free men, but without having a cent of financial assistance, without guidance or help of any kind, without even encouragement. No one meets them or assists them to find employment. Some approach the Salvation Army in response to the invitation previously given by Salvation Army officers while visiting at the gaol, and a number of the recidivists reported having received much-needed friendship and assistance in this way. But there is an utter absence of any organized effort to assist the men who are released from Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol, or to give them any indication that society is ready to accept them again as members.

The Effect of Present Gaol Treatment on Offenders.

Whatever may be our theory as to the task of our penal institutions, it is essential that we know what effect they are

actually having upon the men who serve terms there. Careful attention to the effect of the goal term upon each of our 129 prisoners revealed some significant facts. The first general principle impressed upon us was that the goal regime affects no two individuals in the same way. There are as many different reactions as there are prisoners. And the same individual experiences various reactions that are not necessarily consistent. Sometimes apparently inconsistent reactions occur simultaneously and often varying attitudes occur successively as the term of imprisonment advances. Out of the complexity of varying attitudes and reactions to the goal life a number of dominant effects were recognized and are here set forth.

The most general reaction found was that of depressed spirits, discouragement, worry, and mental deterioration. Forty-eight per cent of the men interviewed were found to be depressed and only twenty-six per cent reasonably cheerful. (Table XXVIII, Page 51) A large number of first offenders were definitely worried by the experience. Some found it difficult to sleep. Many found that during the long hours alone in their cells they could not keep their minds away from their homes, or their disgrace, or the blackness of the future prospects. For persons of any sensitiveness of disposition it is inevitable that a routine of life which provides so little of healthy interest or food for thought, but plenty of time in enforced solitary idleness, should promote mental worry. A number of the men expressed their consciousness of mental deterioration while in the goal. A young man nearing the end of a two year term said: "A fellow's memory gets poorer here. I don't remember near as well as when I came

in. It's the same with your brains and everything - you don't use them. You don't think about anything except going to be and getting up. The routine is all the same. It would be different if there was school to go to or anything." The worry is greatest on the part of those who have responsibilities of family or work which they feel are being seriously neglected during their absence. Even in the cases of men without definite responsibilities elsewhere, the sheer mental emptiness of the gaol routine leaves nothing constructive to think about during the hours of solitary confinement, with the result that brooding causes worry, irritation, and nervousness.

A very definite effect of the gaol life upon the prisoners, especially upon the younger men, is an increased familiarity with criminal methods of living and criminal thoughts and attitudes. The power of companionship is very strong in shaping thoughts and attitudes at any time in normal life. It is especially strong under gaol conditions, which form a novel adventure for the youthful first offender, and throw closely together a number of men who have little common interest except their criminal past. The shared feeling of martyrdom among a group serving sentences together increases the mutual receptiveness

to antisocial feelings, thoughts, and plans. The general consensus of the statements was to the effect that conversation among prisoners deals very largely with criminal subjects. "Prisoners are sort of vain", said one young man. "They like to tell about what they have done and everything. That is about all they talk about here." A married man of thirty years said: "A man is a dozen times more crooked when he gets out of here. I had learned more crooked ways when I had been here a week than I ever did before. You hear guys tell how they did this and that crooked stunt." A boy of eighteen said: "This is the worst place in the world for a young boy. All the men talk about is wild women and such stuff." Many others made similar statements and expanded them to indicate that the chief topics of conversation among the prisoners ^{were} past or future crimes and sexual immorality.

The one point upon which practically every older man expressed an identical opinion was this one of the harmful effect upon youthful offenders of the associations of the gaol life. Man after man made emphatic statements to the effect that whatever else might be allowed to remain in our penal procedure, this glaringly pernicious evil ought to be at once removed. A period of acquaintance with the type of man with whom the boys associate while in the gaol, and with the atmosphere in which those associations are made, is sufficient to convince one of the incontestable soundness of these assertions.

Another effect produced upon a number of the men was to make them less fearful of gaol. A great many said that they were not nearly so much worried about being in gaol after a few months of the term had passed by. And many of the recidivists

explained quite casually that they had become accustomed to the gaol life and no longer found it disagreeable. A man who had served over thirty terms in various gaols made these observations: "When a fellow gets 'making' (i.e. getting into) these gaols he doesn't care what the class outside thinks. He gets going with the men who 'make' gaols and they're his friends. He forgets about the others. A fellow's got no record now. He can't blot it out. It's just like a disease - it's got him." In only a few of the cases which we studied did a succession of gaol terms fail to make the offender less sensitive to the disgrace of the experience and to the repressiveness of the institution. Whatever power as a deterrent our gaol system may have for those who have never been imprisoned, there was abundant evidence in the lives of our group of men that for those who actually experience gaol life the thought of gaol loses much of its deterrent value.

A large number of the men had become embittered by their term in the gaol. Twenty-six of the men, or one-fifth of those studied, gave very definite evidence of a more antagonistic attitude toward society in general on account of their prison term. The hours of lonely thought as well as the conversations with fellow "martyrs" has the very definite effect upon many personalities of an increased feeling of bitterness and antagonism toward the whole society which they blame for their misfortune.

In some of the lives which we considered it was found that associations made during imprisonment had tended to increase later delinquency. When young men have spent a period of time in a reform school or a gaol they are usually eager to find

friends after their release. It is quite natural that among those most likely to become their friends are other ex-inmates with whom they have shared experiences of detention. Several of the young men had been arrested on further charges in company with men whom they had met in gaol or reformatory. Other boys described plans they were making during their current term of imprisonment to accompany older men, whom they had met during the term, upon some venture of business, sometimes legal, sometimes frankly illegal.

There were a number of men among the group whose thinking had been affected favorably by the gaol experience. Some of the first offenders had received it as a warning. Some of the repeaters reacted to their last sentence in such a way as to confirm their good intentions to remain out of gaol in the future. Many made vague resolves that a similar experience would never come to them again, and a very few made definite changes in their future plans on account of the gaol sentence.

The various changes which seemed to have been effected in the individual lives of the prisoners by the sentences being served at the time of the interviews are summarized in the following table:

TABLE LXVI

CHANGES EFFECTED IN THE ATTITUDES OF 129 PRISONERS BY THE GAOL TERM BEING SERVED AT THE TIME OF INTERVIEW

Change Effected	Frequency of Occurrence	Percentage of total of 129 Prisoners
No apparent change of plans	44	34.1
Increased bitterness	26	20.2
Feeling of Lesson Learned	25	19.4
Vague Resolves to Avoid Trouble	24	18.6
Confirmation of Good Intentions	7	5.4
Definite change of Plans	3	2.3
Total	129	100.0

As has been indicated previously no single attitude characterizes each individual consistently, but a complexity of attitudes and reactions are evident in each individual at any one time, and change decidedly with the passage of time. Hence, this table can only summarize those attitudes which seemed to be dominant in the individual's thinking at the time of the interview.

According to the figures of Table LXVI more than half of the men experienced reactions to the gaol term which were decidedly unfavorable or altogether negative. Only forty-five per cent showed reactions which might be considered in any sense favorable. It must be indicated that as far as any value for future conduct is concerned many of the reactions listed under "Lesson Learned" are practically negative. The reaction thus described often consisted of nothing more than a strong desire to keep out of gaols in the future. Now it is quite obvious that a mere desire to keep out of gaol does not of itself change a man's way of living so that he really avoids antisocial con-

duct. As long as the same weaknesses of personality remain, as long as deficiency of mentality and training is not compensated for by adequate supervision, the probabilities are very great that there will be a recurrence of the behavior which led to the present gaol term. Many of the life stories furnished strong evidence for this fact. Many recidivists related the experience of having determined during each previous gaol term that it would be their last, but in spite of that resolve they seemed unable to prevent the recurrence of their trouble. What is thus true of many of the men whose reactions were classed under "Lesson Learned" is true of practically all who were listed under "Vague Resolves". The simple fact is that the innate qualities and environmental influences of most of these men are such that a prison regime which does not strengthen personal character or remould life habits has accomplished nothing for the individuals detained there. The life of the prison which we have described is quite different from the kind of life which the men must lead when they become free men again. The abnormality of the "training" received in the institution is so great that the longer the prisoner remains there the less capable is he on release of occupying a satisfactory place in normal life. There are a few of the prisoners, mostly men of the higher intelligence levels, who seemed to have actually learned through their gaol experience that they must find other channels of conduct if their lives are to be satisfactory. But the great majority go forth with very little of constructive value having been accomplished in their lives, and with attitudes and habits changed in a direction which makes antisocial conduct a much

greater probability for them in the future than it has been in the past.

Our study gives us no basis for an opinion as to the value of our gaol system to deter those who have not yet come into conflict with the law. But it leads us to conclude very definitely that although our Provincial Gaol provides very safe custody for offenders, and prevents them temporarily from troubling society, it does very little to make better citizens of the men who become prisoners, and in a large number of cases sets its inmates free less qualified to maintain a satisfactory place in the social and industrial order than they were at the time of arrest.

CHAPTER V

PROPOSED CHANGES IN TREATMENT OF OFFENDERS

Motive and Theory

At the beginning of Chapter IV we made the observation that the mental attitude underlying the treatment of criminals in Alberta is that of retribution coupled with a belief that the punishments administered have a general deterrent value. Our brief survey of court methods and gaol treatment indicates very clearly that the desire to reform the criminal is not an actual motive in the administration of justice in Alberta. As long as the court places its emphasis on the offence committed and makes no effort to understand the background or causative factors in the life of the offender, or to consider the likely effect of the sentence upon the future welfare of the individual or upon his adjustment to society, the court treatment cannot honestly be said to have a basis in any real desire to reform the criminal. As long as the gaol regime provides no more deliberate attempt to reconstruct the individual than does the monotonous routine and mental emptiness of the gaol life which we have described, and as long as prisoners are released from the institution without even an attempt being made to assist them to find a place in society, any court which did seek to reform the individuals tried before it would have to administer some treatment other than sentence to such a gaol. The claim that our treatment of offenders is reformatory must fail to stand before the facts revealed by any sincere examination of the procedure of our courts and the treatment provided in our gaols.

There is but one test to which an intelligent modern society can submit its program for dealing with antisocial individuals: the dual test of the future welfare of the individual and of society. The welfare of the individual and the welfare of society are to a large extent two different things, but they are so closely interrelated and interdependent that they cannot well be considered separately. Any policy which operates consistently to the detriment of that large group of citizens who offend against our laws is operating at the same time to the detriment of society as a whole. And, on the other hand, any program which is conducive to the good of society as a whole is conducive in the long run to the good of those individuals who have become delinquent. Any theory or motive underlying our treatment of offenders must be subjected to the test of its tendency to contribute toward or to undermine the future welfare of the offenders and of society generally. It is one of the many indications of our failure to direct sound thinking toward our practical problems that we continue for so long to treat offenders by a traditional method without any systematic attempt to evaluate the actual results which that method is producing.

Obviously the retributive motive in the administration of punishment fails to satisfy the pragmatic test. We cannot justify pragmatically our continued practice of satisfying our primitive emotions of revenge by the infliction of punishment upon the offending individual unless it can be shown that in that act of revenge we are benefitting the offender or someone else. But if our motive is really the benefit of the offender or the prevention of further delinquency on the part of the in-

dividual concerned or of others, then our motive is reformative or deterrent, and not retributive. Modern society is rapidly accepting the pragmatic test as applicable to all her institutions and is retaining only that part of the heritage from the past which can be justified on the basis of what it actually contributes to human welfare today. The time has certainly come to apply such a test to the administration of our laws, and the most elementary attempt to do so involves the rejection of the theory of retributive justice as a basis for the treatment of offenders.

Having rejected the retributive motive as of no practical value, and having found that current judicial and penal methods in Alberta involve no serious reformative efforts, the only basis remaining to support our present administration of punishment to offenders is that of deterrence. It is impossible to estimate the extent to which our penal system actually deters, but it seems fairly clear that the fear of punishment with its attendant disgrace is a factor in the prevention of antisocial conduct. But deterrence by punishment depends essentially upon fear, and fear is a negative method, psychically unhealthy. We may well hope that by the gradual extension of constructive methods of forming character the need for the coercive force of fear may be ultimately eliminated. Meanwhile, however, our general educational measures fall so far short of developing sound life attitudes by constructive methods that the demoralizing motive of fear must for some time yet be resorted to in order to prevent an even greater amount of antisocial behaviour than now occurs. But punishment administered as such is not the

only form of treatment which involves a deterrent influence. In the latter part of this chapter we shall indicate the general principles of methods, which are already coming into use in some parts of the world, and which can be depended upon to retain an adequate measure of deterrent power while at the same time giving to the individual that treatment which his particular case requires, and that guidance which will contribute to his successful readjustment to society.

The aim of a constructive program for dealing with offenders will be the reconstruction of the individual to achieve the greatest fullness of life for himself, and the most complete adjustment with society, retaining such measure of deterrent influence as will be most nearly adequate to the protection of society and least harmful to the individual offender. In a program based on such an aim punishment will have no place for its own sake, but will be retained only in so far as it contributes to the reformation of the individual or is necessary to the protection of society. Our study of the individual cases of offenders has convinced us that punishment is inconsistent with reformation, and that if we approach the problem of the anti-social offender with the attitude that demands punishment we are precluded from ^a true comprehension of the factors involved, and from an understanding of the motives of behaviour. These ^{are} essential to successful treatment. The substitution of the medical approach of treatment for the legal approach of punishment does not mean the elimination of that element of deterrence which is necessary for the protection of society. The methods which are being devised for the treatment of offenders where the punishment attitude has

been displaced are of such a nature that those who come under their influence are directed toward more constructive attitudes and more wholesome habits, rather than toward greater antisocial behaviour as under our Alberta gaol system, yet such methods always retain that element of supervision which make them unattractive to offending individuals. In so far as deprivation of liberty and substitution of social control may be considered punishment, punishment will be retained in the administration of the methods of treatment that will grow from a scientific and understanding attitude. But since it will be retained for the purpose of assisting the individual rather than of inflicting upon him revenge for his wrong-doing, and since it is the attitude behind the treatment to which the offender is sensitive, such supervision and deprivation of liberties will not be accompanied by the harmful effects which have been shown in a previous chapter to characterize the reaction of prisoners to present methods of punishment by incarceration.

Increased efficiency in dealing with problems of crime and delinquency depends upon the acceptance of a more constructive attitude. Such an attitude would involve the replacement of the present emphasis on the administration of the law concerning the particular offence by an emphasis on a knowledge of the individual offender, including his background and his personality; it would involve displacing the legal concept of punishment by the medical concept of treatment; and it would mean in general a desire to understand the offender rather than to seek blind revenge by the infliction upon him of punishment regardless of its effect. Such an approach would be at once more scientific, more humane, and

more socially efficient.

Changes Needed in Court Procedure

It has been observed in Chapter IV that our present court methods emphasize the offence rather than the offender, make no attempt to understand the background or the fundamental causes of delinquency in the individuals being tried, and give little consideration to the effects likely to result to the offender from the sentence imposed. Our courts do not include facilities for the examination and understanding of the prisoners who are tried there. Magistrates are bound to impose sentences of a length prescribed by the criminal code, without regard to the needs of the individuals concerned. Legal institutions in Alberta make no provision ordinarily for the acquisition of such information about the individual's past environment and his personality as is absolutely essential to the administration of adequate treatment. Whatever may be the efficiency of our courts as agencies for determining guilt, they are entirely unqualified to prescribe treatment on a basis of understanding sufficient to ensure any measure of true success.

Our first suggestion, therefore, is that in our courts the function of determining guilt be separated from the function of imposing sentence. The guilt-determining function may very well continue to be administered as it is at the present time, but the task of prescribing treatment ought to be transferred to a body equipped to understand the offender and the possibilities of treatment. Such a body might be a board composed of both men and women and including persons trained in psychology, psychiatry,

and social work, as well as capable laymen. Associated with such a board there should be trained social workers to study the home and environment of the offender. Thorough study would be given also to the personality and mentality of the offender so that the board would have as a basis for its consideration a relatively complete knowledge of the individual himself as well as of his background. This board should have control of the various agencies to which it would have the choice of assigning the offender for treatment, in order that the information originally gathered concerning the individual and his environment might be of value in determining the treatment throughout. One of the facilities at the disposal of the proposed board ought to be an institution providing for temporary detention of those individuals requiring further study before the final decision as to treatment. Such a place of detention would be protected as far as possible from the stigma of a prison, but it would inevitably involve sufficient deprivation of freedom to retain the efficacy of a deterrent to potential offenders.

It will be at once objected that the institution of such a board together with the facilities necessary to enable it to function effectively would involve a very heavy expense in comparison with the relatively simple method of allowing a magistrate to impose sentence immediately after conviction. It is true that the initial expense would be considerably greater than that involved in the present method, but immediate expense is not the only thing to be considered. A systematic program of treatment based on an expertly secured knowledge of causative factors has a possibility of succeeding so much greater than that of the

present haphazard methods that it can be reasonably expected to bring a decided decrease in the number of recidivists appearing before the courts. Such a decrease means in the long run a decrease of total expenditure for criminal administration, but may be expected to more than offset the additional cost involved in the inauguration of more scientific methods.

Methods of Treatment

Concentration upon the needs and possibilities of each individual offender would be the essential feature of the method of such a board as we have suggested. Since such individualization would diagnose each case differently, many different methods of treatment would be required. We here suggest a few of the general principles which our study has indicated as being desirable in the treatment of offenders, or which have been employed with some measure of success in other communities.

Special methods ought to be employed in dealing with juveniles, and the use of such methods ought to be extended to all those below the age of twenty-one years. More than ten per cent of the prisoners in Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol are less than twenty-one years of age, and there was the strongest evidence that in most of these cases the boys were receiving more harm than good from their gaol experience. Altogether, the evidence is overwhelming that boys below the age of twenty-one should not be sent under any circumstances to gaols of the kind now being used for adults.

One of the possibilities in the treatment of youthful offenders is the establishment of a farm colony which would be

an institution exclusively for those under twenty-one years of age and would not bear the stigma of a gaol. Such an institution has been advocated by Warden McLean of Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol as an alternative to the imprisonment of boys in the common gaol—imprisonment which his long practical experience has convinced him is fraught with insidious evils for the younger delinquents who find themselves among men who think and live in a world of crime. Such an institution ought to be entirely separate from the institution provided for adult criminals, and ought to be regarded as a training school rather than as a place of punishment. By no means should such an institution be regarded merely as a place of detention, but it should include a very careful and thorough program of general and vocational education, with emphasis on the development of a sense of social responsibility and the qualities of good citizenship. Among those in charge should be thoroughly trained psychologists, psychiatrists, and educationalists. It is a vivid testimony to the lack of intelligent direction in our social affairs that the boys whose homes and schools have failed to give such training as would inculcate sufficient moral sense or social consciousness should be placed for further training in a gaol of which the officials are not trained in educational methods but are employed as guards with a military function. It was found that among the younger men imprisoned in the Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol one of the most general causes of social failure was the lack of vocational training. The institution provided especially for these younger delinquents could very well include vocational training of types suited to most of the boys whom we studied in the gaol. We shall not attempt

here to outline details of such an institution, as we are limiting ourselves to such suggestions as grow directly from our personal study of the group of prisoners in our goal. That study, however, has convinced us that the treatment needed by the young men whom we find there is of a far more constructive nature than anything that a goal can provide. They need supervision that is personal and intimate: they need to be made to feel that someone has a personal interest in them, and is ready to extend kindly assistance though at the same time insisting upon good behaviour. The organization of the institution should be much more nearly fitted to provide an atmosphere of normal social life than is that of the goal. It is folly to expect that the detention of a young man for one or two years under the exceedingly abnormal conditions of the goal regime and without contact with normal social life will send him forth better fitted to take a place in society. Our experience with youthful prisoners indicated that the actual effect is just the reverse. The institutions which we are suggesting should include as large an element as possible of healthy social life under adequate supervision. It should include the largest possible measure of inmate self-government, in order that a feeling of genuine social responsibility be developed. Among the young men whom we interviewed there seemed good reason to believe that everyone would respond to such a form of treatment, except those of extreme mental deficiency, and obviously such cases should be in an institution of another kind.

We are not without guidance in the form of experiments along the line of such institutions. Among these are the Whittier State School in California, and the Earlston Institutions in

(a) England. Both of these experiments are yielding a large measure of success. They include the features of vocational training and of supervised group activity which we have suggested as being much needed by the boys whom we interviewed in St. Suspatonewan Gaol. At the same time these institutions provide periods of strict supervision of a length of several years or more, so that there is little need to fear that the kindly and humane treatment will attract boys to the institution and so remove the deterrent effect claimed for our present gaol system. We are told that delinquent boys sentenced by English magistrates to a Borstal Institution have begged and pleaded for the shorter term in the common gaol, but that afterwards, convinced of the value of the Borstal training they have been grateful for the longer sentence.

In a large number of cases institutional life is not desirable for a first offender or even for one who has been before the court previously. Where the home conditions are reasonably good, and where work and leisure activities are available, additional careful supervision within the normal environment are sometimes preferable to the regime of an institution, which must always involve some element of abnormality. For such cases the method of probation holds great possibilities. Here again the primary need is for workers possessing thorough training as well as genuine human interest and understanding. The objection of expense is here, too, supported only by a short range view, for adequate supervision by parole officers can often divert delinquent tendencies which would otherwise involve the expense of

(a) See "Boys in Trouble" by L. Le Mesurier for an admirable account of the English Borstal Institutions.

court proceedings and subsequent detention. There is good reason to believe that a great deal of delinquency could be avoided in Alberta if an adequate system of probation were put into use in the case of all offenders up to the age of twenty-one for whom the method seemed suitable. Boys who failed to make good on probation, or whose home surroundings were so bad that they ought to be removed from them, could be sent to the institution discussed above.

Adult offenders ought to be given the same careful examination as juveniles by the board responsible for administering treatment. Facilities should be available to give them the kind of treatment which they individually need, rather than as at present sentencing all alike to fine or imprisonment regardless of environment or personality. The treatment should always aim to restore the individual to normal and satisfactory social life. The present system of short sentences is doing very little toward that end. Even if it were the aim of our present penal system to reform men it would be an impossible achievement when eighty per cent of the prisoners received at our provincial gaol are sentenced by the courts to terms of less than four months.

There are some adult criminals who do not respond to any form of treatment now known. For such men permanent segregation must be used. There is, however, nothing to be gained by condemning such men to a life of misery during their detention. They are the product of their inheritance and their environment and there is no proven basis for the belief that anything is accomplished by punishing them. While our knowledge remains insufficient to provide a successful method for their treatment, our

dealing with them should be limited to that measure of restraint which will securely protect society from their antisocial tendencies. Men of this kind ought to be detained under conditions similar to those which we have but recently adopted for the insane, who also suffered punishment at the hands of society in days that we now consider unenlightened. Certainly permanent segregation is more acceptable from the standpoint of social safety, as well as more just to the individual, than the infliction of successive short sentences interspersed with periods of criminal activity.

The evidence is that there are very few men who are incurably criminal. Among the 129 prisoners interviewed at the Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol not more than half a dozen showed deliberate criminal tendencies which would be likely to offer any difficulties which could not be overcome by an intelligent program directed toward rehabilitation.

The great majority of the prisoners studied were found to be too weak to meet the difficulties of the economic struggle or to resist the attraction of alcohol, theft, and other bad habits because of deficiency in either native intelligence or early training or both. A few were so extremely defective in intelligence or so definitely psychopathic as to require care in the institutions provided for the feeble-minded and the insane. A large number of those of definite feeble-mindedness and some of those classed as of borderline intelligence are not able to conduct themselves adequately as independent members of our present social system. They require supervision in either an institution or a work colony of some kind. These men are the victims of weakness and inadequate background. It is inhuman to victimize

them further by punishment in gaol. Moreover the succession of short terms to which many of them are sentenced does nothing to overcome their weakness or to fit them better to occupy a place in the economic order. It would be quite possible for Alberta to provide an institution really suited to the needs of men of this kind. They are capable of performing tasks largely of a manual nature quite efficiently with a small amount of training. Under supervision they would work steadily as useful members of society. They would be much happier under comfortable conditions of supervised employment than left as at present to drift from one short time job to another, with intervening periods of unemployment often resulting in crime and imprisonment. At the same time they would be less troublesome and probably less expensive to society than they are at the present time.

Almost half of the prisoners belong to a class possessed of dull or borderline intelligence and without sufficient education or training to ensure work that would keep them occupied in socially acceptable ways. Not capable of other than rough manual labor, they seek diversion by periods of idleness in between their short time jobs. Their background has been culturally poor and their education very limited. Consequently they find few wholesome interests to occupy them during their leisure while holding jobs or during their frequent periods of complete idleness. The result is the formation of habits of delinquency, for they are too poorly equipped intellectually to resist the attraction of petty theft or of alcohol. The crimes committed by men of this class are usually very trivial. Large numbers of them are sentenced for theft of such things as wrenches, rings, watches, suit-

cases, or articles of clothing. For these offences or for vagrancy or begging these men serve sentence after sentence, usually lamenting their time in the gaol and determined not to return, but too weak to carry out their intentions when once again subjected to the pressure of the world as independent citizens. The evidence previously presented as resulting from our study of prisoners is that gaol sentences are confirming these men in their antisocial habits rather than reforming them.

When we seek to find for these men a way of treatment rather than of punishment we find no one method that is applicable to them all. Their needs are different and their treatment must be individualized to give any measure of success. The board which we have proposed for the prescribing of treatment would find it necessary to adopt various methods for the men of this group. Some of the illiterate have a capacity for much more education than they received and their ability to hold jobs could be greatly increased by a period of several years spent in an institution really directed toward their training. Sheer lack of the training needed to do the kind of work they would like to do has been responsible for the drifting and delinquency of many, and an institution providing training in vocations within the range of their ability would go far toward solving their problem. Most of these men whose mentality is dull and whose background of training inadequate could be fitted for some constructive place in the economic system by a period of training that would vary in nature and in length according to the needs of the individual. Some of those of borderline intelligence are fully aware of their inadequacy and their failure, and realize their inability to conduct

themselves properly in society if left entirely to themselves. Such men, although complete failures as independent citizens, often prove very conscientious and industrious workers under the supervised regime of the gaol. They respond very well to a limited measure of responsibility, and often take great pride in their work. They can probably never become capable of the successful direction of their own affairs, but under the right measure of supervision would work in a very satisfactory way. Many of these men expressed their willingness to accept work under the supervision of a colony or permanent work camp, and while in the gaol have shown the qualities that would make them successful members of such a community, providing adequate guidance were supplied to them. Our institutions of justice are measuring out to these men something much less than justice when, for their failure to meet the demands of an economic order decidedly too severe for the ability given to them by their inheritance and their early environment, they are sentenced to successive short terms of degrading and demoralizing imprisonment and then released again to face an increasingly difficult economic world less qualified than when they were removed from it.

There is also the group of dull or borderline intellect who in early youth developed habits of active delinquency, but whose thinking and attitude has not yet become that of the deliberate criminal. Their present gaol experiences are giving them very good education toward becoming deliberate and embittered criminals. It seems necessary that such men should spend a period of time in an institution, but it should be an institution with some aim other than that of punishment. If such men were hopeless

and incurable, we would still not be justified in sentencing them to short periods of imprisonment, and releasing them again to prey upon society. Permanent segregation has been suggested as the most intelligent way of dealing with those whose delinquency we are as yet unable to treat successfully. But the great majority of these men are not hopeless and incurable. They will respond to treatment, but it must be treatment and not vindictive punishment. To deal successfully with these amateur and potential criminals changes must be made in our present gaol system - changes that aim to reconstruct human personalities. We outline briefly below some of the changes which our experience in the Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol has convinced us would increase the effectiveness of gaols of its kind.

1. The replacement of fixed and short sentences by longer sentences of indeterminate duration, the time of release to be determined by qualified persons of the prison staff on the basis of the length of time required to fit the prisoner for a place in society. If prisons are to reform at all, the short sentences must go, for human nature is not reconstructed overnight, and the sentence of fixed length must go, for no judge or magistrate or even the most highly trained psychologist can predict the time that will be required to change a criminal's nature.

2. The provision of facilities for careful psychological and psychiatric examination of each prisoner, and the administration of treatment in accordance with the individual's needs. If a sentencing board had already given the individual such study, repetition would not be required, but the progress of the prisoner should be observed and guided by officials qualified to understand him.

3. The training of prison officials in modern methods of dealing with human nature, a training involving psychology and social work, as well as penal administration. The work of penal administration ought to be elevated to the rank of a profession. Those who undertake the care of men in gaols have a very difficult task, especially if their aim is to send their wards forth better men than when they came in. They are dealing with the individuals for whom our other institutions were not adequate. The home failed, the school failed, the church failed. No other social organization has made of these prisoners the kind of man who are socially acceptable. Now we ask the prison administrator to do it. But we give him no special training for this exceedingly complex task of dealing with recalcitrant human beings. He needs the very best training that can be given toward an understanding of human nature and human behaviour. Every officer who has contact with the prisoners ought to have such a training. Prison work ought to be a profession calling for well-trained men who are willing to devote themselves to the service of that large unfortunate element of our population which constitutes our gaol population, rather than, as it now is, a poorly paid job requiring no training.

4. A thorough program of education. It is by means of education, in the broadest sense, that human nature is remade. The education provided in a gaol should be much broader than that of our ordinary public school curriculum. It should emphasize training in social consciousness, in citizenship, in vocation. It should not be a single stereotyped program, such as that which dominates our public and high schools, but should provide for the varying needs of different individuals.

5. The reconstructing power of religion ought to be given a chance to work through both group and personal means. Religion is too powerful a factor in human experience to be neglected by those who would seek to reconstruct broken natures. Among the men in charge of an institution for delinquents should be at least one whose opportunity it is to know the men personally, and in such an intimate way that he may give guidance in those experiences of inner life and meaning which we include within the term religion. To most people genuine religious transformation can come only through an understanding of religion in terms of actual living from day to day. Thus such an experience is much more likely to come through the guidance of one who lives the same life and knows the everyday experiences than by means of abstract emotional appeals presented at mass meetings. Personal religious guidance is an instrument which will be used increasingly in institutions for delinquents as the general public grows tolerant enough to overcome the denominational difficulty.

6. Remuneration of prisoners for work well done. Such a practice would do much to build up the self-respect of the man, and would be an incentive to good work. It would also mean that the small sum accumulated would assist the prisoner to get a fresh start after release. The realization that he was not working entirely for nothing would eliminate much of the present tendency of gaol sentences to give the prisoner a grudge against society. The method of remuneration could be used also as a measure of training in social responsibility, by requiring that the man who has a family or dependents should send part of his earnings to them to assist in their upkeep during his incarceration.

7. The classification and segregation of prisoners. The facilities suggested above for study of the individual offenders would provide a sound basis upon which to classify the men, so as to avoid much of the evil of bad influence which now thoroughly saturates the gaol atmosphere.

8. The elimination of such measures of repression and degradation as still remain. The enforcement of silence, as indicated previously, breeds fear, stealth, and secrecy. It is an unwholesome influence. Deprivations in food furnish grounds for discontent, and all such grievances are magnified greatly in the minds of the prisoners during the hours of solitude. Brooding over these grievances is detrimental to the state of the prisoners' minds, and tends to increase the feeling of antagonism toward the world in general. Punishment by confinement to the "black hole" with ration of bread and water is very unsound from the viewpoint of its effect upon the prisoner. A boy of nineteen after confinement in the dark cell for seventy-two hours for "saucing" a guard declared the experience to be the worst mental agony he had ever endured, and was certain that had he been left for a few hours longer in the empty, black, nothingness of the underground cell he would have lost his mind. Such punishment does nothing to accomplish an understanding of the reasons for the misbehavior. It merely rankles in his mind, developing a feeling of greater antagonism toward everyone associated with his stay in the gaol. Physical brutality has been eliminated from our gaols, but mental suffering is just as cruel as physical, and at least equally harmful. The gaol life will not reconstruct men until the conditions are made such that an attitude of cooperation is engendered in

the men rather than one of repressed antagonism. A step toward eliminating the humiliation of gaol treatment was made by Gordon McLean during 1932, when the custom of clipping the hair of prisoners was abolished except as a punishment for serious breaches of discipline.

9. The introduction of group activities and recreations among the prisoners, so that the gaol term may be a more effective preparation for normal life outside. The present regime is very unnatural and makes subsequent adaption to social life more difficult. Men must live in terms of social contacts, and they cannot be trained to live better socially by a tedious routine entirely void of healthy social relationships. The rule depriving prisoners of access to newspapers is one instance of the tendency of the present system to break the contact of the prisoners with the natural, normal life of the outside world.

10. The institution of a system of probation and guidance for the prisoners who are released. If our aim is to restore the offender to a satisfactory place in society it is essential that some assistance and guidance be given during the period following discharge.

The fundamental principle which must permeate this whole method of treatment if it is to accomplish the desired end of reconstructed character is that of genuine personal interest in the individual offender. Most of the men in the gaol have for many years lived in a world in which no one has taken a real interest in them as individuals. We found that they respond warmly to the personal touch. The personal touch is largely lacking under the present system of prison administration, but it is absolutely

essential to any form of treatment which is to appeal to the better selves of the prisoners and to draw out sufficient effort on their part to ensure a fair chance of their successful reestablishment in normal life.

Even an institution involving such principles of treatment as we have suggested ought to be used for only those offenders who show definitely delinquent personal tendencies. It would not be appropriate for prisoners of types that number almost half of the present gaol population. It should not be used for any of the men below the age of twenty-one. It would not be suited to the psychopathic cases, or to men of extreme mental deficiency. Both of these groups should be in the special institutions provided for them. Those of dull mentality lacking mainly ability and self-control might much better be colonized on farms or in connection with other industries, and employed under permanent supervision. Another type existing in considerable numbers among the present gaol population is the alcoholic. The contribution of alcoholism to delinquency is a special problem which must be given farther study and experimentation before we know the best way of dealing with the men who are alcoholic victims. Short gaol terms are certainly far from adequate as a treatment for them.

A final group which comprises a significant but constantly fluctuating proportion of the present gaol population is that of the vagrants and freight-riders who are the victims of economic pressure. There is usually some weakness of personality or training that results in the rejection of these particular individuals from industry, and the men themselves often require treatment or

training. The inequality and injustice of the economic system is very plainly a large underlying factor in the delinquency of not only this group, but of a very large proportion of the total population. No consideration of methods of treatment can justly overlook the economic factor, but certainly it is being completely evaded by the present policy of sentencing vagrants to short terms of imprisonment and then releasing them with no more money and no more training than they had before, with no assistance for future employment, and with in addition, very often, a more unsocial attitude. The institution of cooperative colonies to absorb these unemployed men would remove a great deal of the crime problem of Alberta. More than sixty per cent of the group of prisoners we have studied were unemployed at the time of arrest, and only fifteen per cent were steadily employed.

The Prevention of Crime.- While it is essential that we place our methods of treating offenders on a scientific and effective basis, it is even more essential that we give careful attention to measures for the prevention of crime. To effect a reduction in the amount of criminal behaviour we must systematically attack the whole range of social problems facing our communities, for the crime occurring in any community is but a manifestation of the failure of social institutions to function adequately. A study of causative factors in the lives of prisoners in Ft. Saskatchewan Gaol brought us at every point face to face with the fundamental problems of our social order. Having found low mentality, and large families that could not be properly provided for, we must face the problems of eugenics, and the control of the quantity and quality of our population. Having

Found unhappy and uncongenial home environments, we must face the problems of family relationships and social control of the environment of children. Having found inadequate schooling and lack of vocational training, we must face the problems involved in our whole educational system and its apparent failure to qualify large numbers of youth for any constructive place in life. Having found the growth of delinquent habits during idleness, we must face the problem of unused leisure time. Having found a large contribution to delinquency from the abuse of alcohol, we must face the huge problem of the exploitation or social control of this persistently destructive traffic. And permeating almost the whole of the social life in which we found our causative factors is the economic system with its inequality, its training to an over-emphasis on the value of property, its difficulties too great to be overcome by the poorly qualified, and its insidious temptations breaking down the morals of men of all classes and all circumstances.

Recent discoveries and conclusions regarding the causation of crime give good reason for a hopeful attitude toward the possibilities of prevention. There has been little evidence that criminal tendencies, as such, are inherited. Mental deficiency seems to be very definitely heritable; but it is only to the extent that external circumstances break down the social adjustment of the individual at the point of weakness, that criminal behaviour depends upon the traits that are inherited. The very recognition of this fact that all feeble-minded individuals are potential offenders offers real promise for the development of fundamental measures looking to prevention of crime. American

authorities on the subject of mental deficiency agree that it can be overcome by the proper kind of education in early youth. (a) Fortunately mental defectives can be identified at an early age, and there is no reason why we should not select from among the children in the early grades of public school those who require special training, and thus prevent their failure in later life. It would be infinitely more economical in the long run to institute facilities for a complete survey of our public school population in order to isolate in institutions adapted to the purpose those in need of special training, rather than to allow large numbers of boys and girls to drop out of our schools as failures thus becoming misfits, expensive to society.

The whole educational system can be broadened to permit of more adaptability to individual needs, and to attempt less to force all types of children into a common mould. It can also be

(a) Davies, in *Social Control of the Mentally Deficient*, says: "When institutional care begins early enough most of the intellectually subnormal children can be trained to take a very satisfactory place in society. This training must be of an entirely different nature to that given in the public schools."

Dr. W. E. Fernald makes this statement: "Those defectives whose defects are recognized while they are young children, and who receive proper care and training during their childhood, are, as a rule, not especially troublesome after they have been safely guided through the period of early adolescence." (Quoted by Davies in *Social Control of the Mentally Deficient*, P. 214).

Dr. H. H. Goddard, Director of the Research Laboratory of the Training School at Vineland, New Jersey, for Feeble-Minded Girls and Boys, takes a similar position in his book: "Feeble-Mindedness, its Causes and Consequences." He maintains that moronity is a problem of education, and that the right kind of education can make those of definitely low levels of intelligence capable of filling appropriate positions happily.

made to include training in sex relationships and home-making, so that young people may approach these most vital of all personal problems with an intelligent and healthy attitude. Such training would greatly increase the probabilities of success and happiness in marriage relationships and home life. An extension of leisure time activities of wholesome and constructive nature especially for the children of underprivileged families would remove much of the cause of juvenile delinquency.

The control of population by private use of contraceptive measures and by government sterilization of the unfit will decrease that section of the population which now contributes most heavily to the delinquent class. The existence of large families among the classes whose material circumstances do not permit the proper support or training of the children, the tendency of large families to make impossible the proper care of any of the children by the parents, the prolific reproduction of the people of mental weakness and often of both mental and physical disease, all of these factors have been seen in our study to contribute to a large extent to the growing number of unfit and criminal citizens in Alberta. There is therefore a tremendous need for a wider spread of knowledge of hygienic measures which will limit the reproduction of the socially undesirable. There is need for a saner and more enlightened view on the part of the general public. There is need to free the attitude of the people toward social legislation from the irrational taboos of certain outworn religious beliefs. Citizens of Alberta need to realize that it is more Christian to limit the population to families of such size and quality as will contribute to a more capable future

citizenship, then to encourage the free and prolific reproduction of all classes and types of people at the expense of burdening society with an increasing number of mentally, physically, and morally diseased persons. It is essential, too, that the general public, as well as those in positions of administration, realize that in the long run true economy will be secured by the introduction of methods of prevention even at considerable initial expense.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSIONS

Some of the findings of this study may be summarized very generally as follows: The great majority of the prisoners in the Ft. Saskatchewan Provincial Gaol have become delinquents because, weak in native intelligence or deficient in early training, they have lacked the ability to meet the difficulties of the economic struggle or to resist the attraction of alcohol, theft, or other bad habits. The courts which sentence these men to imprisonment give very little attention to the individual offender, his personality or his background, but place their emphasis upon the offence committed, and impose the penalty prescribed by law for such an offence regardless of the probable effect of such treatment upon the offender. The gaol as it now functions provides safe detention for the sentenced men, but does little or nothing to help the prisoners to become better qualified for social life on their release, and in many cases sends them forth with an attitude which increases the probability of their anti-social behavior in future. The great need is for a study of the individual offender, and the provision of such treatment as will tend to reconstruct his character and enable him to live socially after his release. Individual treatment is especially desirable for youthful offenders, many of whom are suffering great mental and moral harm under present gaol conditions. The methods of treatment recommended in this report are likely to be criticised on the ground that they will lack the deterrent effect of punishment. The criticism loses its force because of the almost complete absence of evidence for the existence of such deterrent effects as

the present punitive methods are generally considered to exert upon those who would otherwise become offenders.

The methods of treatment which seem to be desirable include permanent segregation for those few individuals who are incurably criminal, training for those whose lack of vocation is responsible for their delinquency, education of an appropriate kind for those who are illiterate because of low intelligence or lack of opportunity, supervised employment and colonization for those of mental ability too low for adequate social adjustment and carefully supervised institutional life with training in social responsibilities for the young offenders who have developed definite delinquent tendencies.

Having found the causative factors of crime deeply imbedded in our social structure and integrated into the whole complexity of social institutions and human relationships we realize that any adequate preventative program must include a progressive solution of the vast range of social problems facing our communities. The soundest method of dealing with crime is that which prevents its appearance by dealing constructively with the problems of eugenics and population control, of education and vocational training, of marriage and family relationships, of leisure time activities for both young people and adults, of alcohol, drugs, and other agencies of vice, and of religion as a constructive life force.

Public Opinion.- It is upon enlightened public opinion that we wait for progress in treatment of offenders and in dealing with our social problems generally. The public attitude toward criminals is slow to change. The present demand for vindictive

punishment as a form of revenge will gradually be replaced by a realization that we can be more humane and just, and at the same time serve best the interests of society, by seeking to understand those who offend and to give them the treatment which they individually need.

A scientific approach to social problems is delayed by the reluctance of the layman to surrender to the trained specialist these fields of human relationships which have always been considered the unquestioned domain of untrained common sense and everyday practical experience. This reactionary attitude is gradually being overcome as knowledge of modern psychology and social science spreads among the general population.

Perhaps the greatest barrier to social progress is the reluctance of administrator and taxpayer to appropriate funds for new institutions. A vital need is that citizens and governors should come to see that more scientific and thorough methodology, although involving heavier expense during the period of inauguration, is more truly economical because it provides cure and prevention whereas the unscientific methods of tradition are merely palliatives.

The Need for Research and Study.- Public opinion and administration alike will progress slowly until students of social problems can speak with some measure of agreement and certainty as to causes and needs. It is therefore of the utmost importance that study and research should go forward on the most thorough and scientific basis possible. Dependable knowledge must be the basis of our social advances, and dependable knowledge can come only from detailed and scientific investigation.

The present study has dealt with problems of delinquency as found among the prisoners of an Alberta provincial gaol. It has been a study involving much more detail and looking deeper into fundamental conditions and causes than is possible to administrators under our present system. But from the standpoint of really understanding those deep motives of human nature which are fundamental to misbehaviour it has been a superficial study. There is tremendous need for more detailed and analytical study of those whose conduct brings them into conflict with accepted social standards. There is equal need for detailed and thorough study of the social conditions which are producing our delinquents. It is hoped that the present study will prove of value as a starting point for other investigations and researches in this province into the phenomena of personality disorder and social conflict which are fundamental to our problems of delinquency.

The following suggestions pointing the way to further studies in this immediate problem of delinquent conduct and its treatment have grown out of the present investigation. The study of youthful offenders offers far more of guidance and information than the study of mature gaol inmates. More valuable information can probably be gained by the detailed study of a comparatively small number of individuals over a period of time than by a superficial statistical study of a larger number of men. The statistical figures depend for their value upon the thoroughness of the studies which furnish their basis. A complete study of youthful offenders should include the most thorough investigation possible into the conditions of home, community, and school life under which the early childhood was spent. Much valuable

guidance for future treatment of delinquents can almost certainly be gained by experimentation with various methods of treating offenders of different types and of different ages. The most fruitful field of work in delinquency seems clearly to be with the youngest children who in school or home life display tendencies to unsocial behaviour. However we have seen evidence that much can also be accomplished by careful personal guidance of the younger men who enter our common gaols.

This study has impressed us very strongly with the realization that even those individuals who reach maturity without having learned to live in adequate social adjustment still possess great possibilities for development of character and training in citizenship. Tremendous advances can be made in dealing with problems of delinquency if the individuals who have failed are approached with an attitude that is both human and scientific. We need confidence in their possibilities and the desire to understand.

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